The school shape:
subject between object and author

Part I

Contributions for a welcoming school

Power and knowledge in school shapes of social relations

Pascal Paulus

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List of used abbreviations

CEL: Coopérative de l'Enseignement Laïque.

CEMEA: (Ceméa) Centers d'Entrainement aux Méthodes d'Education Active.

ICEM: Institut Coopératif de l'École Moderne (France).

FINEM: Fédération Internationale de Mouvements de l'École Moderne.

MEM: Movimento da Escola Moderna de Portugal.

VOA: Voz do Operario da Ajuda .

To everyone else,
in a dialectical
learning process

Being shaped by school: subject between object and author

In September 2012 it was fifty years ago school crossed my life for the first time. Without asking anything, without even realising what was happening, I was taken by my father to a small building, at walking distance from the house where we lived at the time, and handed over to a person who was strange to me. I was five years old. My insertion in social relations I would later identify as a school shape of social relations[1] which continues today started then. I'm not exactly sure when I started questioning myself about this kind of social relations. I was told that from an early age I had a certain reluctance towards outside rules, and to carry out the work assigned to me when it seemed pointless to me. There is an anecdote that for years brightened up family dinners at my grandmother's traditional Christmas gatherings. Adults evoked my supposed defiance of school: For months, whenever the kindergarten teacher, who was no longer a stranger, handed out drawings to color within the lines, or cardboard to punch, I said neatly: "*Not for me, I thank you ...* " In subsequent years, the refusal to participate became the basic question for trying to understand why to participate, and, later on, how to participate in and deal with the closed environment of the school, without losing sight of the world "out there".

The world grew as I grew up, and the school I seemed to criticise from an early age was always there. It was a shock to realize that my grandfather's primary school, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, was oddly similar to my parents', mine and my daughters', in organisation, ways of relationship and in the how it was dealing with knowledge. In the space of a hundred years, the shape seems to have become naturalised, to use an expression of Rui Canário. This supposed naturalisation is the result of a planned strategy for social construction in a place of instruction for the next generation, as I could see when I was a Normal School student.

Social relations shaped by school are part of the schooled society. School rituals are found everywhere, inside and outside the school. We often find community rituals in school. School dominates the lives of people in the schooled world. People are valued based on their school performance. Before school there is *preschool*, during school there are *after school activities*, after school studies there are *postgraduate courses* validated by the school. What happens at school serves as an example for what happens in other contexts, in other institutions. What happens in other contexts in integrated into the school context.

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[1] Literrally *La forme scolaire des relations sociales*, as stated by Vincent, Thin and Lahire, often abbreviated as La forme scolaire (the school shape). In this text the expression *school shape* stands for *the whole field of social relations shaped by school*.

Contributions for a welcoming school is the first of two parts under the common title *The school shape: subject between object and author*. Both parts are taken from the PhD dissertation on educational sociology I presented in 2013 under the title *Uma outra forma de fazer escola: a Voz do Operário da Ajuda*[2].

This first part deals with the school shape of social relations. It starts from the observation that in the schooled world this shape dominates society. This does not mean that it does not receive influences from other shapes of social relations, but the scriptural shapes are undoubtedly, as Vincent *et al.* (1994) argue , the ones that assert themselves most clearly over oral social relation shapes. These authors define five characteristics, which I will return to in this work, regarding the existence of objectified knowledge, the "*pedagogization*" of learning, the creation of lasting social effects, the learning about the exercise of power and about the language and the world.

In fact, as I shall have the opportunity to argue, the expression "school shape" represents any number of shapes. Having a dominant variant does not mean that the school shape is the same everywhere. First, there are clear systemic differences. Second, and this seems more pertinent to the work I present, there are many locally 'flavours' of the school shape of social relations. These 'flavours' or variants result from the fact that what happens in schools depend on the people who are there, giving rise to school *shapes* of social relations, in the plural.

Regardless of the similarity between institutions, including schools, subjects play a central role. Even when one tries to see an institution as an anonymous organisation with rules existing outside the actors, individuals demonstrate in different ways the relationship they maintain with that organisation through the relations they establish among themselves .

In the school shape, three factors are decisive: power, knowledge and pedagogical paradigm. The way individuals interpret their relationship to power and their relationship to knowledge, the choice of the pedagogical paradigm they will follow, determines the local variation of a school shape of social relations.

When I talk about the relationship with power, it is about the way the adult relates to the child: is he aware of a relationship of mutual learning or does he see himself as a relationship to *in fans*, to creatures without *speech capacity*? Is the pedagogical relationship based on the transmission of values and patterns of power by an elite over the non-elite, or is it based on questioning the relationship with power itself?

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[2] Available in the repository of the University of Lisbon, at http://repositorio.ul.pt/handle/10451/9692 .

When I talk about knowledge, I wonder about the role of the transfer from adults to children or what the relationship, the interaction with knowledge means to adults and children, based on the experienced knowledge that everyone has.

When I speak of a pedagogical paradigm, I question the pedagogical relationship in the light of three different learning theories.
In school, where the social relationship is '*pedagogised*', there is constant variation in the shape of this relationship. This can range from relations that are supposed to be hierarchical, both top-down and bottom-up, to those that are cooperative, horizontal and participatory. The social relationship underlying a particular school shape can be read as a bond on subject-objects[3], a relationship with subject-actors or leading to an interaction between subject-authors, including children.
In this way, 'families' or groups of school shapes of social relations become visible with subject-objects under instruction, with subject-actors in a performance scenario, or between subjects authors of their production: a *continuum* of variants of the school shape.

This first part shows how a continuum of school shapes of social relations can contribute to the descriptive grammar of schooled learning.

The first chapter *Power and Knowledge at School* outlines school in a schooled society. It introduces the analytic dimensions of institution, organisation and shape of the school, and develops the dimension of the school shape to explain the relation to power and the relation to knowledge contained within it. It characterises and addresses the hypothesis of *a continuum* of school shapes of social relations.

Subject-objects, -actors or -authors at school then discusses three pedagogical paradigms, including the respective relationship to power and knowledge, that suggest the groups of school shapes of social relations described. It evokes the learning and socialisation spaces society offers to its children and situates the class established as space-time by the group that constitutes it, placing subjects within it as involved actors. It deals with the suggestions of one of the currents of institutional pedagogy and the pedagogical proposal of the Modern School Movement of Portugal (MEM), since these are the references of the teachers of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* in the decade under study in the case study presented in the second Volume.

The case of a singular school shape recapitulates the characterisation of the school shape and the hypothesis of seeing it as a *continuum* of school shapes of social relations and *Learning under the fig tree* extracts from the fieldwork the elements that make up the school shape of *A voz da Ajuda* and its durability. This supports the broadening of the definition given by Vincent *et al.* (1994) for the school shape

[3] I use the word subject here in the sense of the Portuguese ***sujeito*** or individual

of learning.

Finally *What future for the school shape?* introduces elements for the necessary debate to be held by adults and children about the role of the teacher and the student, assuming a power relationship based on interaction and not on '*hierarchisation*', and a relationship with knowledge not based on standardisation and fragmented transmission but on the production of original cultural works.

This dialogue around the school, its specific shape as to the function explicitly and implicitly assigned to it, should contribute to thinking about a dynamic school shape, ready to allow the school to evolve from the place of instruction of the past to the learning environment linked to the future. It suggests the hypothesis of a comparative grammar for school learning.

Writing has solitary phases. However, one does not learn alone and does not produce alone. The work I present here is the result of many shared moments. The ongoing thought process currently documented in the following pages would not have been possible without the discussions and conversations with those who have assisted me throughout this process. Any other encounter with them or with other people would have created a variant of the process and the product.

I would like to thank Rui Canário, who encouraged me throughout this writing process, which started in a different way in 2004. He always urged me to continue writing based on years of practice, documented in texts, photos, memories and stories. A warm hug goes to Sérgio Niza, in thanks for the intellectual pleasure of the long conversations with which he entertained me, now and before, since we met, in 1984.

It was a privilege to be able to tap into the vast knowledge of both of them which goes far beyond the subject covered in this text, and to accept many of the reading suggestions they made to me.

I think of all those who were at Voz do Operário da Ajuda as children. Without them this work would not exist. The second volume stems entirely from the time former students and professors offered me to realize the presented case.

Thanks to all the other people who listened to me and encouraged me. A special thought goes to Bob Paulus and Odette Vanmuysen for the questions they asked during hours of video conferences. Many thanks to Francisco Marcelino and Carmen Correia, who were always available to listen to me, discuss with me and point out texts disposable at the Documentation Center of the Modern School Movement. Thanks also to Joshua Muskin, for his support in finding some texts and for his listening ear. I am listing here all those who discussed aspects of the work with me, including Sofia Ferreira, Irene Santos, Inês Paulus, Sara Paulus and Clarisse

Rosa, while I was processing and writing the information.

Finally, I remember friends and colleagues from many years ago, first in the Netherlands, Belgium and France, and later in Portugal. Together we explore and continue to propose other ways to go to school, since the years of discussion with Fernand Oury, Fons Verbeeck and Tony Van den Heurck, until today, with many, but especially with the partners of the Movimento da Escola Moderna who welcomed me and with whom I learned and learn every day.

It is my hope that this writing can be a small return for the much I have learned from the interlocutors I mention here and the many others I have encountered and continue to learn with, and a humble contribution to the ongoing discussion between all interested in deepening the reflection on the form of the school.

Carnaxide, 2014 and 2023

1 Power and knowledge at school

In modern written society, the school is installed as one of the organising institutions. The institution becomes important, Rui Canário (2005) recalls, when nation states emerge and are organised. The school therefore plays an essential role in promoting a linguistic and cultural unity of reference, through the education of new generations, in which it seeks to instil unifying values. These values, inscribed in the cultural heritage of the elites who founded the school, are presented in the national curriculum that the school enforces.

The predominance of the school, as an institutional place for the education of children and young people, ensures that it quickly acquires the status of a naturalised object. In many circumstances it is no longer regarded as a social construct, containing a specific order for the organisation of society, the result of local and temporal conditions, devised and imposed by those who have the means to do so.

The naturalisation of the school is observable in various situations, sometimes subtle, as in the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which defends the right to food, love and identity, and in the seventh principle, the right to children's leisure and education where the second is in the initial phase, *free and compulsory* :

> "The child has the right to education, which should be free and compulsory, at least in the lower grades. It should receive an education that promotes culture and enables it, under conditions of equal opportunity, to develop mental skills, a sense of moral and social responsibility and to become a useful member of society.
>
> The best interests of the child should be the guiding principle of those responsible for their upbringing and guidance, a responsibility that rests primarily with their parents.
>
> The child should be given every opportunity to play and participate in recreational activities, which should be aimed at the same goals as education; society and government should make efforts to promote these rights."[1]
>
> (Declaration of the Rights of the Child, Principle 7, UN, 1959).

On a planetary level, the right to education is advocated. In a schooled society, this right has become a *duty* beyond doubt and is assumed to happen in compulsory *school,* where what is enrolled in the national curriculum is taught and made compulsory by the school administration. It goes without saying, for even though the possibility exists in certain countries to use forms of home education, one is still

[1] Translation from Portuguese made by the author.

obliged to go through the prescribed curriculum, which is certified by tests or examinations.

The society commands worldwide, through one of its institutions, to make the new generations understand the social rules to which they must be subjected to enter that same society, which makes school and education fields of research for sociology, more specifically for the sociology of education.

Martine Xiberras (1996) analyses various sociological theories and their interpretation of the relationship between education, school and society. The theories of classical sociology, of the sociology of deviation and of the sociology of action deserve a brief introductory note here.

The theories of classical sociology, with Durkheim, Simmel and Weber, describe what they define as the evolution from community to society. Xiberras follows Durkheim's study of the influence of collective consciousness on social bonding. Simmel is credited as having devoted himself to rethinking the social bond in micro-relational situations and Weber as being most interested in the political bond and thus what defines and describes authority relations.

The author recalls that for Durkheim the variation in the kind of the social bond will determine solidarity, reduced to two main forms: the mechanical and the organic one. Mechanical solidarity is characteristic of traditional societies, in which individuals differ little from each other. Solidarity is mechanical in nature, due to the similarity and closeness between the elements of the group. In modern, complex societies, with great differentiation in the tasks to be performed, there is a tendency for everyone to occupy different functions, all of which are necessary. Solidarity is then organic, in a biological sense: organs work together for the good of the body as a whole. By joining together, individuals form a new spiritual individuality that Durkheim calls collective consciousness. Moral density, that is, group cohesion arising from values, prohibitions, and imperatives, binds individuals together and elicits solidarity, which is easier when the social bond is of a mechanical nature. The gradual replacement of organic solidarity with mechanical solidarity implies the loss of the horizontal bond, causing a decrease in moral density, which can lead to the anarchist extreme of anomie. The formative integrating social frameworks, whether religious, national or political, are influenced by the collective consciousness and global society.
For Simmel, continues Xiberras (1996), the relationship of reciprocity between two individuals allows a progressive opening to the outside. A community closed in itself gradually opens up to the unknown, when the foreigner represents the outside and the inside, whereas a foreigner he is already within the community. Relationships of distance and proximity obscure mobility situations, that is, of those without roots,

but they increase objectivity, thanks to contact with those who are not subject to the prejudices of the endogenous group, and facilitate abstraction because, through the relationship of reciprocity developing more general models of interpretation that appear as objectives. When the foreigner, first known from the point of view of differences, begins to be viewed from the point of view of similarities, the author says, the group feels compelled to change its collective representations. At the moment, however, says Xiberras (1996, p. 75), in the case of major Western cities, it is as if everyone becomes a foreigner in relation to everyone else.

To explain the vertical relationship in the relationship of power and the reason why human beings accepts to submit to the superior, Weber writes *Die drei reinen Typen der legitimen Herrshaft in 1922.* In this he argues that an individual accepts submission, in an unequal power relationship, that is, there are people who accept the rules imposed on them by another. The German word *Herrshaft* (Flemish *Heerschap*), composed of *Herr (Heer),* de lord or landlord, and the suffix *shaft (schap)* - which has its origin in the Proto-Germanic word *skap* (to create) which gives rise to the English *shape (*and suffix *ship)* - with the modern meaning of *state or condition of,* refers to ruling power but also to the power of the ruler over the ruled. It is therefore an analysis of power in a vertical relationship, a relationship of dominance that in politics, economics or pedagogy always seems to be the constitutive element of the social bond (Xiberras, 1996, p. 82).

As is well known, Weber defines three ideal or pure types for this legitimate relationship, the *traditional* (lord, patriarch – beliefs and traditions – servants), the *charismatic* (guide – personal value of the chief – faithful followers) and the *legal* (rationality – law - and regulations – elected or chosen one's).

Sociological theories of deviation include the Chicago School of Human Ecology theory of thought. This sees neighbourhood relations, not solidarity, as determinants of moral density or its absence, in an organising competitive context. The 'behaviour' of plants 'competing' for light and food is used as a metaphor.

Mobility presents itself as an organising factor. Population growth and better mobility opportunities , in a given context, depersonalise social relationships, increase heterogeneity and change the competitive context. Density, the result of concentration in large cities, for example, organises solidarity, through the development and multiplication of professions, which constitute a social and spatial factor, when regroupings arise due to professional interests; at the same time, the mechanical solidarity is disrupted as the underlying interest and cooperation develops to the detriment of feeling and habit. A slow process of assimilation takes place, which should eliminate segregation phenomena. Newcomers are forced to adapt to an order in which education for children, but also for young people, adults and migrants, becomes necessary and compulsory.

Social relationships are described in levels. There is a group of primary, neighbourhood relations, and there is a group of secondary, anonymous relations in society — a kind of joint stock company in which an entrepreneur brings together thousands of people — without, however, being comparable to the economic structure of the same name. So, as Xiberras points out, when the urban dweller becomes cosmopolitan, insecurity and instability increase, moral heterogeneity increases. According to the Chicago school, it is this moral heterogeneity that causes social problems. The ghetto then becomes the welcoming place for the newcomer and ultimately simultaneously for those who feel or are isolated, while the distribution in the social fabric of a culture or an ethnic group shows its assimilation.
Another line in this second group of theories, pointed out by Xiberras, is the line of symbolic interactionism. The conception of deviance puts the outsider in the field and gives rise to labelling, as a way of exposing social facts sanctioned by society. For line authors, the person deviates when isolating himself from the group that made the rule, so it is necessary to ensure that he is respected. For this reason, the rule is institutionalized by those who make themselves "*contractors of the norm*", as Becker puts it[2]. There is stigmatisation when the deviation from the norm is seen, but this is not the case with secret deviations, because they are not perceived as such. Those who are not stigmatised and who are not perceived as deviant are considered normal: they do not deviate from normative expectations. Xiberras notes here that the French way of thinking in sociology also leads to deviating theories via criminology. Rationalisation actually implies clarification of norms, which in turn implies the criminalisation of deviance. In *Surveiller et punir* (2009)[3] Foucault reports, in a very violent way, the criminalisation of deviance when he describes in detail medieval torture, the suffering inflicted on the declared criminal being a function of the crime committed or the deviance observed. Later in history torture passes into sanction, that is, it turns from a revenge to the imposition of a penalty. The punishments are determined by the degree of humanity and not by pain. Revenge is replaced by mechanisms of submission. I will come back to the subject of submission when I talk about the power relationship with and at school.

When discussing theories of contemporary sociology, Xiberras (1996) introduces Douglas's thinking related to the conditions for the formation of institutions. For the anthropologist it seems that at the origin of what is instituted, the role of each group, the latent group, within which collective representations and the model of social bonding are forged, is little by little becoming an established model. This

[2] Xiberras 1996, p. 121.

[3] The first printing dates from 1979.

origin of the institution goes hand in hand with the question of how social order comes about and addresses the usual questions: what is the nature and strength of the social bond? Why do people bond and want to sacrifice themselves for members of the group they belong to?

For Xiberras, the main problem for modern authors is trying to understand how solidarity works. Where is it from? Solidarity takes place in the context of a strong social bond, which is based on cooperation and mutual aid, as opposed to rejection and distrust. The author reminds that sacrifice has to do with loyalty, fidelity to the group which for Durkheim is the social group, and for Fleck '*a thought collective*' (1996, p. 167). In random groups (the author gives the example of passengers on a bus) there is no collective conscience. On the other hand, a class group, even though it is formed by external authority, according to predetermined bureaucratic rules, continues to be an opportunity for those who form a group. As we will see in micro[4] in a certain context a class group is a stable group that gives rise to a collective conscience among the people who make up the group.

Douglas (1998) introduces the concept of a latent group, such as a local association or a parent association. This latent group becomes a composite group when an action is designed that leads to a common practice. It is in this common action that collective conscience and solidarity are born.

However, if we look at an institution, a schoolcluster or even a company, we see how this institution tries to assert itself through what is called 'group culture' or 'corporate culture'. Xiberras (1996, p. 175) sums it up as follows: (a) people make institutions; (b) within the institutions they build classifications; (c) classifications model actions; (d) the actions are associated with a name ; (e) named actions have positive (insiders) and negative (outsiders) reactions. In other words, the author proposes three moments. First, an institution is created or established. In a second moment the institution is maintained, that is, its memory is built. Finally, the institution is consolidated, achieving as stable a position as possible, but not necessary forever. As long as it fits the context, and even after it's out of place, it persists for a while. But if we reach this stage and look at many institutions , including those of a social nature, such as hospitals and schools, we find what Dubet (2002) calls *the decline of the institution* and what Sérieyx (transl. 1993) provocatively described a decade earlier as *the big bang of organisations*.

The second, at the time director of a venture capital management company and currently vice president of the *Fédération Française des Groupements d'Employeurs* , describes the gap between an outdated Taylorism thinking and the nature of business, the state and union organisations.

---

4 See Volume II: *Memories in the shadow of the Fig Tree* .

The first argues there is a slow decline of institutions, characterised by a heavy bureaucracy that locks them in on themselves. The author notes that the very image of modernity as a homogeneous and coherent system is crumbling, to argue that it is better to speak of late modernity than postmodernity because there is no break with the institutional program or sudden transition of a model for another, but a kind of prolonged implosion in which the process of rationalisation, disenchantment and diversification of social life is prolonged (Dubet, 2002, p. 53).

Society reading, organised by institutions and associations, leaves the systemic view that *brings together* large groups of people due to social characteristics. We break down social groups into smaller units of measurement. Touraine observes, in the face of the great state apparatuses, a pulverised society. For the sociologist, *"the norm is what it is, the deviant is the one who disrespects the norm".* Touraine emphasises the actor personally experiencing his historicity and introduces the *sociology of action.* Post-industrial society appears as the product of action in itself. In this action, the social subjects have a multitude of choices. More freedom of choice is only possible if the ability to produce in-house is increased, otherwise standardisation will take effect. In this sense, marginality is not a failed integration, but presents itself as a laboratory of counter-projects.

With *Le retour de l'acteur,* a book the author claims goes against the grain, Touraine (1996) presents a view in which the object of sociology is no longer society, but the whole of behaviour and social relations. The actor, hidden by classical sociology and eliminated by anti-sociology, returns and puts social action at the center. For Touraine it is not enough, and it is even dangerous to speak of social determinisms, since the individual actor, although conditioned by a situation, participates in the creation of this situation. The theory of organisations caused blows in classical sociology and showed that organisation is the unstable result of social relations of various origins. The crisis of evolutionism is clear to the author. He does not believe that by moving away from industrial society and its way of thinking we are moving towards a new equilibrium, but rather towards a situation where collectivities must act on their own (1996, p. 47).

The transition from classical sociology to the sociology of action is accompanied by the separation between social life and the state. As social life loses its unity, the state seems ever stronger, a *unity* that is not '*meta-socia*l' but overwhelming. The image of historicity, of the ability to construct itself, contrasts and opposes the model of totalitarian states destroying social relations. For this reason, says Touraine, it is necessary to seek and encourage all forms of rebirth of social life and to seek spaces where the mechanisms of functioning and social change remained active despite state power.

The evolutionism embedded in thinking in modern countries considers the convergence of all states to the same type of modern state. Here Touraine sees two schools: one stumbles on traditional behaviour, the other on the irrationality of the ruling class. As far as postmodern thinking is concerned, the author cautions those anthropologists who are hostile to historicism and who see the abundant diversity of cultures as an alternative to the homogenisation and impoverishment of modern civilisation, some of which even see a kind of regression of society. The crisis of modernity is limited, postmodernists underestimate contemporary societies. For Touraine there is not a general crisis of modernity, but a partial crisis consisting in the end of social evolutionism.

Touraine represents the transition to the unity of modern society through the movement for the liberation of human creativity. He believes that the unity of social life does not come from an idea of society, but that society presents itself as if it were a set of rules, privileges and customs against which creative forces continue to fight. He notes the evolution from a society written in history to the history present in societies writing their own evolution. Criticism of humanism, according to the author, helped to eliminate post-religious appeals.

In this sense, Foucault does not position himself against the idea of the subject, but against appeals and enduring values, precisely because the subject is opposed to an enduring substantial content. It tries to give a new meaning to historicity, not to indicate the historical nature of social phenomena, but to indicate a culture.

It is necessary to give a new meaning to the notion of institution, and Touraine proposes:

> " Today, that should not refer to what was *established*, but to what is *being established*[5] , that is, the mechanisms through which cultural orientations are transformed into social practices. In that sense, all settings are political."
>
> (1996, p. 67).

The author concludes that the three central elements of social life ***are the subject***, ***historicity*** as a set of cultural models and the ***social movements***. These three elements can be combined in different ways, creating different visions. The epic view values historicity, the dramatic gives importance to social movements in conflict. These two visions are illustrated in a context in which the fall of the Berlin Wall has not yet taken place. I come back on the third view that *"gives a new value to the notion of subject, which translates the distance that individuals and collectivities keep from institutions, practices and ideologies"* (***idem*** , p. 70).

The previous pages served to give a dynamic interpretation to society that is also

[5] Featured by me.

dynamic in itself and in which the school appears as one of the institutional pillars. The following points develop the blending of school in society and society in school.

The first part explores the natural connection between society and school. The second focuses on the dimensions of the school and draws attention to ways of 'doing school' including what has become the hegemonic shape. The *theory of school shape* proposed by Vincent *et al.* (1994) allows to discuss this hegemonic shape and supports the suggestion of a *continuum* of shapes. The third point focuses on the relationship with power at the school and the relationship between power and school. The description of the school focuses on the description of the hegemonic shape of schooling which crystallised into metaphorical modes of operation with minor variations. This set of modes of operation origine a kind of hegemonic shape associated with a precise grammar of schooling that *obscures* other variants of the continuum.

The last point of this chapter is about the relationship with knowledge at school. This relationship turns out to be a function of the relationship with power, which is practiced by school by school actors. This leads to the conclusion that a coherent approach to the management of power and the consequent organisation of the relationship or interaction with knowledge is a singular shape of schooling. This makes it possible to imagine school shapes of coexisting and ultimately intercommunicating social relations in settings of the same nature.

Society developed

To have children and young people to live in society, they need education. From this adult premise arises upbringing understood as the initiation to the values and rules of the society into which children are born, or, in the words of Durkheim (2007, p. 49), it is necessary *to a generation of adults and a generation of youth, an action being exercised by the former over the latter.* Historically, upbringing and education provided by the family has been supplemented by education by the preceptor or by the public or private, religious or secular school.

Foucault (2009) considers school as one of the disciplinary institutions of modern society. Those institutions do not all have the same projection through the ages, but it is clear that the military instruction, the church, the prison, the hospital and, as mentioned, the school are those institutions.

Military instruction actually transforms the individual bodies of the soldiers into one homogeneous moving body. Soldiers perform manoeuvres as a single body at the command of their superior. The organisation of a modern hospital disciplines the contact between doctors and patients and separates patients from each other,

in an organisation that avoids unnecessary and potentially dangerous contact in contamination situations. Although the Church loses influence in the modern and secular state, it remains a disciplinary institution for matters of faith in the Catholic-Christian world as a representative of God and it continues to have the power to pronounce on the souls of the faithful. Prison provides constant supervision over those who have placed themselves outside the norm and for that reason have been punished by being deprived of their liberty.

The school, which Foucault describes and analyses as it spreads, instills in children and young people not only the discipline we know from the military institution, but also elements from other ones: children, deprived of their liberty, under constant supervision, should be described just like the sick in the hospital, while in denominational education as well as in the morals lessons from the secular schools they are inculcated to recommend their minds to sovereign power, God or Country. In *Didactica Magna* written in the first half of the seventeenth century, Comenius calls to establishing schools even in the remotest villages so that every child can learn the science of things, embedded in a Protestant vision that everyone should be able to read for himself so that each can study for himself the deeds of man and the word of God. A few decades later in that part of the world that remained under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, Jean-Baptiste de La Salle described in detail the disciplinary rituals the school should respect. The Lassallian Disciplinary Regulations, where Foucault refers to have a less punitive equivalent in *Didactica Magna.* In his work, Comenius describes in detail the knowledge to be passed on first in the mother's womb or mother's school for six years then in the school using the national language for children up to 12 years old. This is followed for another six years by the second school with Latin as the language of instruction. These plans outline a proposal for a school that is very similar in organisation to the current mass school.

For the 17th-century authors mentioned above, it is beyond dispute education has a socialisation function and that this socialisation will take place, at least in part, in an institution set up for this purpose. Among the definitions the dictionary gives for the term *socialise,* three are useful for this introduction. One refers to life in society and associates this same verb *to socialize ;* it talks about being or becoming social and of organising somebody or organising oneself in society. The term is also related to the verb *to associate*, that is, the act of coming together or coming together in association. For the dictionary of the *Lisbon Academy of Sciences,* there is also that other meaning, the one of *civilisation*, that is, of imparting social rules to people.

Socialize and associate

A person living in a complex and registered society is believed to have the necessary skills to interfere in the course of events, according to standardised processes, borrowed from the political system that develops that same society. In this regard, Sedas Nunes wrote:

> "One of these processes is political socialisation. In any society, individuals are conditioned from childhood to accept and internalise the various purposes and norms institutionalized within it, in such a way that they readily recognise them as normal and "legitimate" and learn to behave accordingly" (2005) , p. 46).

"*To be or become social"* signifies to ensure that the social contract that has been entered into is respected and continues to be respected. And this is taught: individuals are conditioned to accept rules of conduct. However, the constitution of a given society as a nation-state, with a centralised organisation, shows regional differences in this conditioning.

In a recent work, Carreira da Silva *et al* (2008) describe the degree of participation in associative activities, included in power structures, such as the church or political parties, but also in social expression, in debates, gatherings, manifestations and acts of culture. For this purpose, they analyse data collected in mainland Portugal, comparing participation in small population centers with that in the metropolitan area of the capital. Higher illiteracy and lower school degrees are typical outside the metropolitan area, the higher levels of education and higher education being a hallmark. While in the smaller agglomerations the associative participation takes place more in the church and to a lesser extent in the political structures, in the metropolitan area of the capital the participation in church and party shifts to more fluid forms of political intervention (debates, meetings, etc.).

The authors suggest a correlation between what they identify as unconventional political participation practices and life in the metropolitan area, higher education, higher income, cognitive mobility and urban experience.

The learning process arises from the relationship between people, and primarily between children and adults. When Durkheim (2007) quotes Kant as saying: "*the object of education is to develop in each individual all the perfection of which he is capable"* he puts adults with a duty to push all children to the utmost of their potential. Then he asks what that perfection is, to conclude that a universal harmonious development is not fully attainable, because this contradicts what he stipulates as another rule of human behaviour: *"we devote ourselves to a special task and are limited."* He ends by saying that it is not possible for everyone to dedicate themselves to the same kind of life, distinguishing between those with a predisposition for

action and those who feel called to the task of thinking. But in addition to seeking harmony between what he believes are people's abilities and functions and what they are responsible for, through their nature or their contrivances, Durkheim still finds variations in space and time as the society to which he belongs strives to with its own personality.

Education, that is, to support somebody becoming wiser, associated with the learning process of those who enter society, has different flavours. Jacquard (1991, p.179) presents two, when he evokes the Latin roots of the word "*éduquer*": *educate as upbringing* and *educate as underlay*, with very different meanings. While *educare* originally referring to nurturing offspring so that it develops healthily, the word *educere* describes a process of elevation, of surpassing oneself, of exalting oneself above oneself. He thus connects the work of the educator either with this nurturing process, or with this provocative process of upliftment.

The upliftment process is also a process of meeting others, establishing social relationships . It is a complex and phased process that starts at birth. Berger and Luckman (2004)[6] systematise the dialectical process of entering and becoming part of society.

They define socialisation of the new being entering, as a series of experiences and interactions that are not linear although patterned. The child is driven to take on the world. It is, from the child's point of view, a completely original process, as each child will take on the world in its own way. This first assumption goes through a long and cyclical process of internalisation through objectification, identification, the search for meaning and for congruence between similar manifestations of different interlocutors before identical phenomena.

Little by little, an understood and shared world is built, because it is mutually defined. Internalisation through objectification and the consequent externalisation allows the new individual to become a member of society.

The authors argue that for every person there is a primary socialisation, *ex nihil,* which anchors the individual. That primary socialisation is followed by secondary socialisations. They identify the family as the sole player in primary socialisation. In another way, Dubar (1997) views families and schools as primary socialisation devices, interacting with secondary socialisation devices, such as companies and professional contexts. But Berger and Luckman (2004) argue initial socialisation takes place in a context of strong emotional connection, much more than in a context of purely cognitive learning. It is for this reason that they exclude the school from the first socialisation. They argue that the relationship with the family

[6] The first edition was in 1966.

differs fundamentally from the relationship with the educator or teacher as a representative of an institution. According to them, the first socialisation only takes place in that emotional context: the child must love the mother, but not necessarily the teacher. Thus, according to these two authors, initial socialisation will establish a configuration of meanings determined by parents and confirmed by significant others.

The search for the balance between subjective reality and visible objective reality calls the private other over the private internal, putting each other under pressure. In this context, Arendt (2001) recalls Rousseau who theorised private internal as intimacy contrary to visible objective reality. On the other hand, Berger and Luckman (2004) argue that each individual is born into a precise context and enters an *objective social structure (OSS),* where he is linked to the significant others, which will define the *objective social world (OSW)* .

Language allows successive new states of generalisation that lead to a balance between visible objective reality and subjective reality. At the end of the dialectical process of the first socialisation, there is a balance between the subjective reality and the visible objective reality, influenced by the OSW and mediated by the *generalised other* (GA) quoted by Mead[7].

Doubts will necessarily arise only later, when the second socialisation shows a diversity of worlds and the non-uniqueness of the objective social structure. Now there are the problems created by new interpretations of reality, which cause interference. In its simplest form, the second socialisation will be confronted with the first socialisation in several places, whether or not simultaneously. Those interpretations are necessary:

a) As in today's society the division of labor and the associated need for social dissemination of knowledge is required.
b) Since the second socialisation essentially depends on language, it will intervene since it comes from an objective social structure recognisable to the individual who manages to interpret it, from the objective social world of the first socialisation.

We can think back to the Weberian *Gemeinshaft* and *Gesellshaft*. Dubar evokes community socialisation and societal socialisation developed by Torries, equating entering an affective community with entering a regulated structure (institution, association or company). Then we can talk about the difference between entering a school (institution) and entering a family or a nation. Torries separates them but Weber speaks of ideal types, assuming that the great majority of social relations

7 See page 25.

are partly *community socialisation* and partly *societal socialisation* .

Becoming social is something every person goes through, based on relationships with other people. Any social being that interacts with other social beings becomes social and can be part of society. This process starts with honouring the children closest to them, including at school and by people at school. Even if we do not follow Dubar in linking the school to the first socialisation, this attitude emerges very early and takes a privileged place for developing in the child the necessary language for a second socialisation when the objective reality must be reinterpreted. The school offers a place where work can be divided, practiced or discussed, where knowledge sharing is also made visible to a group that has formed there.

Civilisation or socialisation at school

As I mentioned, Dubar (1997) argues school plays a role in initial socialisation. The school accompanies the family in the compulsory education to which the children are subjected, to internalise the rules and norms of the society in which they find themselves and to understand how to relate to the demands of hierarchies. As Foucault describes it, school is the place where obedience is taught.

As soon as the child enters school, it is scrutinised through the academic success it achieves. Dubar wonders what this academic success consisting in going ahead or limping behind, means in first grade school. Does the measurement of this success have to do with the Piaget's stages of the child's development, or does it have to do with the degree of ability to comply with the school's rules, norms and values ?

School success, for which an ideal-type student is a benchmark, leads to a school in which deviations from the norm appear. Therefore, one tries to explain the deviations and to understand why a child approaches or stays away from the ideal type. Dubar (1997, p. 29) refers to the studies by Establet, Clerc and Girard showing that where there are equal parental incomes there is a correlation between family qualifications and children's school success, the opposite is not true: for equivalent skills, unequal earnings do not have a major impact on children's school performance. He also refers to Bernstein's studies correlating the language code between mother and child with the language code used in school when studying standard deviations.

Without speaking here of another area conducive to studies related to deviance, namely child cognitive development[8], it is noted that the appropriation of rules and norms in different contexts is correlated with the degree of communication

[8] See further

between parents and children. The conflict of interpretation of language codes of different spheres of first or second socialisation is related to the common learning of the rules of life in ever-expanding circles. In this sense, socialisation strongly depends on the social and relational conditions during the initial socialisation, with the family, and where it is present, in society, with the school.

Dubar (1997, p. 30) introduces Percheron, who, contrary to Durkheim's approach to socialisation, understands socialisation as the acquisition of a symbolic code, which results from transactions, in everything equivalent to Piaget's equilibrium between assimilation and accommodation. Percheron suggests the issue of political socialisation, which Dubar summarises in five points:

- Socialisation is a relational process, which presupposes a transaction between who is socialised and who is to be socialised, a meeting point, a compromise.
- Socialisation is not only, nor mainly, a transfer of values, norms and rules, but the development of a certain representation of the world. Each individual slowly builds up that image, the family and the school do not impose it. To do this, each of them reuses stereotyped or non-stereotyped images of the different representations they face, according to their own experiences.
- Socialisation is not the result of formalised learning, but the result of an ongoing restructuring of past and present influences.
- This slow and gradual construction gives each person a reference and evaluation system of reality, which makes it possible to act in a certain way in a certain context.
- Socialising is also building one's identity, one's connection and relationship with others. In other words, it is *"starting to think along with others"* (Dubar 1997, p. 31).

Going back to the notion of *habitus*, that outward appearance of which Durkheim says *"on which the educator must take a lasting action"* Bourdieu suggests that it is the structure that generates practices that are inscribed in the logic of the individual, so that practices that unlikely are to be removed. From this point of view, *habitus* seems to make any change impossible. But Dubar recalls that after the publication of his work *Social Reproduction*, Bourdieu repeated several times that the *habitus* only tends to reproduce the structures of which it is a product. The distinction between the working condition and the production condition introduces an important element of uncertainty in the *habitus theory*, according to Dubar. Children of parents with a university degree will find it easier to obtain a university degree. For Bourdieu (*Apud* Dubar 1997, p. 73), the weak cultural capital of the big bourgeoisie is compensated by economic capital. Thus, through the school, the emerging bourgeois class and the big bourgeoisie will approach each other, some see-

king a dominant position, others trying to maintain it, while the popular classes resign themselves to the lesser success of their children and pass over bourgeoisie-ambitions towards the next generation .

Returning to children, their appropriation of the environment and the concept of socialisation as a construction of reality, Dubar (1997, p. 91) evokes the work of George Mead. This author first described socialisation as the construction of a social identity, the construction of a ***soi***, in relation to ***autrui***. He places the communicative and not the instrumental act as a central element in the socialisation process. The communicative act is situated at the level of the interpretation of gestures, reflections or symbolism appropriated by the ***soi***. The construction of social identity would therefore be based on a behaviourist psychological approach, where social behaviour is defined as a significant response to the gesture of the other. Since the ***soi*** is built through interaction with the ***autrui***, entering kindergarten is considered an important moment to discover the game of rules. In fact, it is the appropriation of the rules, in the sense of the perception that a certain attitude of one obligates an attitude from the other , and that this interplay of attitudes is not specific but general, which will cause the ***soi*** to assert itself and identify itself through what Mead defines as the *generalised other*. It is a dialectical relationship between individualisation and socialisation: the more ***soi-même*** is affirmed, the better one integrates into the group.

Back at school, Dubar finds first socialisation the most important:

> "...basic knowledge, objects of primary socialisation, [which] essentially depend on the relations established between the social world of the family and the institutional universe of the school and which are at the same time 'semantic fields' that form categorisations of situation and 'programs of formalised initiation' that enable the construction and anticipation of social behaviour." (1997, p. 95).

At school, children are confronted with other adults from universes other than the familiar universe. The integration of knowledge will largely depend, says Dubar, on the relationship children form with these adults who participate in their socialisation process. As Berger and Luckman (2004) point out, socialisation is never quite complete, and as mentioned earlier, there is a secondary socialisation that articulates with primary socialisation. For Dubar, the social construction of reality makes it possible to approach socialisation not only as a social reproduction, but also as a perspective of social change. In any case, the first socialisation requires an accurate reading of reality. I.e:

> "Subjectively, social change is therefore inseparable from the transformation of identities, that is, it is simultaneously inseparable from the 'worlds' constructed

> by individuals and the 'practices' that flow from these 'worlds'. Fundamentally focused on the formation of social identity, primary socialisation can only be successful if it has an underlying process of incorporating 'reality as it is' (Mead). Appropriation to the 'reality principle', 'reality as it is' (Mead) implies the renunciation of the 'pleasure principle' (Freud) and integration into existing society and its 'social relations of production and reproduction' (Marx)."
>
> (Dubar, 1997, p. 99).

The naturalisation of the school

In an schooled society, school seems an inevitability. It is an object of human creation, but it is experienced as external to mankind and not as a product of the organisation of society itself. Naturalised, it is given a status of immutability.

The concept of education evokes a relationship between adults and children, the former introducing the latter into the society of women and men. This relationship of parents and children, of masters and apprentices, or, with a historical hook to Greece, of slaves and youngsters, is accompanied by a concept of school, as a socialising institution.

With clear humanistic intentions to disseminate the collective heritage of knowledge to all and to promote its appropriation by children and young people, Comenius proposes a school for all children, with a precise curriculum, and also provides didactic and methodological advice, half a century before Jean-Baptiste de La Salle's disciplinary *écoles chrétiennes.* The Normal Schools which had an important role in the training of teachers for the state schools stetted up from the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth to start to organise primary education, were mirrored to the training proposals of La Salle and not of Comenius.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when many European nation-states already have some sort of compulsory education organisation, Durkheim argues that, even if we consider the possibility that parents are essentially responsible for education, it cannot be left to their criterion alone. On the one hand, he shows that the increasing specialisation of functions and professions causes a heterogeneity of roles, which causes the social homogeneity of primitive societies to be lost. He further argues that since man is only human because he lives in a society where the accumulation of knowledge and human experience is preserved, the child must be taught. The school is available to anyone who wishes to use it, and what is taught there by the teachers must be declared and controlled by the state so that they do not lead the children on the trail of their own personal beliefs, even if it seems justified to them.

Towards the end of the First World War, we found a whole set of school courses, in

different schools, with different curricula, offering different out directions. The widespread primary school, republican and secular in France, secular in Belgium, is populated with teachers who attended Normal School and were prepared for standard classes, often with a strict boarding regime, to teach the children national values and introduce bourgeois morals. That school remains elitist, choosing only the best students who will be able to escape their condition of basic education. They will enter the lyceum of the bourgeois elites, who stay away from primary education.

It is possible to understand the school as an institution that facilitates the socialisation of the *private*. In modern times, the transfer from what was *private* to what is *public* (Arendt, 2001: 45) is accompanied by the emergence of a school that claims not so much introduction to the *polis* but rather the illusion of an insertion among *peers*, formatted for this purpose, exception made for those found to be 'unformattable'.

The "normalising" school factory, which resembles an assembly line for identical products, naturally compromises the equality of intervention, based on the diversity of roles, statutes and knowledge. It 'hierarchies' statutes, normalises diversity, homogenises groups of people to fit into classes and systems that are objects of study of classical sociology. It is also, as mentioned earlier, identified as a primary socialisation device along with the family structure (Dubar, 2002).

The need to train manpower for the factory led to general schools that prepared workers for industry, while high school and military school trained elites and cadres (Dubet and Martuccelli, 1996). Most of the time, these schools have no connection with each other. The schools that prepare workers have longer hours and organise work in workshops, to get closer to the working life they will experience.

Dubet and Martuccelli (1998) provide an overview of the evolution of the concept of the European schooled society, referring to the *Glorious Thirty* and dealing with integration and exclusion, to situate the end of the wonder years, after the first oil crisis in the early 1970s. At that time, the educational model developed in the period of heavy industrialisation, based on a Taylorist view of work, with the Fordist model of assembly line production, seemed obsolete. The organisation of society according to well-defined work, where everyone has their place, would gradually disappear from the middle of the same decade, at least in much of the northern hemisphere. The school only slowly follows this evolution. Rui Canário (2008) refers to the era of the educational state, prior to this first global oil shock, development-oriented, typical of human capital theory and conducive to the emergence of the mass school, as the era of the education system understood as a great company. The author recalls that as far back as the 1960s, extensive studies have shown the processes leading to inequality in qualifying schools, making

"the linear relationship between democratisation of education and upward mobility" an illusion (2008, p. 75). He agrees with Dubet and Martuccelli's (1996, p. 29) thesis, when they speak of the origins of the school system and state that, with regard to the school, equality is a fraud intended to make people think they exercise fragile power. They believe the educational project itself appears to tame workers, a desire of the bourgeoisie who mistrust education in its intimacy. Lesne sees in the classical school model an attributive and healing function that wants:

> "to prepare for certain roles or to compensate for the deviation between the behaviour of individuals and the general and particular demands of society" (1977, p. 239).

Compulsory school expanded towards vocational training and general secondary education. Its naturalisation meant an extension of training before and after compulsory education. As Vincent *et al.* (1994, p. 39) demonstrate, until the 1960s, social origin determined the degree of professional integration. Today, social and professional pathways depend on school pathways.

But the school serves as a model for activities beyond it: it is worth remembering that many parents, with "***educational***" concerns, see additional activities not merely as a leisure activity, but above all as "***discipline***" and *"learning"* moments for *"developing a taste for exercise"* (Vincent ***et al***., 1994, p. 41).

The tribute to the school and the status accorded to it in the so called developed society turns it into a gigantic institution, employing large numbers of workers in every country[9]. They are responsible for socialisation at school while teaching their subjects. As mentioned, the dictionary of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences associates the term socialisation with the verb *to civilize*. The same dictionary illustrates this meaning with the phrase " *The school socialises the individual* " (2001, p. 3439). A school inevitability was created, that is, a naturalised school rose in the context of which a hegemonic relationship model arises.

About school experience

With the *sociology of action,* Touraine (1996) rejects the idea that analysing the relations between social actors should be removed from sociology or used against it. The author states: *" There is no society which cannot and should not be analysed as a system of social relations "* (1996, p. 75).

Touraine explains that classical sociology has shown that *"every social relationship*

[9] Canário and Alves (2004) recall that teachers are one of the largest occupational groups in the European Union, representing about 3% of the active population.

involves a power relationship. There is no such thing as a purely horizontal social relationship" (1996:78). He further argues that this classical view includes the opposition of the dominant class to the dominated class precisely because the former identifies with historicity explaining its interests, while the dominated class protests against this identification. The author explains that relationships are established in a situation where rule and norm already seem to exist, suggesting a reversal of this view. He goes on to state that *"the rule does not precede the act. It is simultaneously produced, modified, and contested by every action"*. This relationship between the rule and the act makes the order nothing more than *"a partial formalisation of social relations, cultural transformations and conflicts of power, influence and authority"*. (1996, p. 79). For Touraine, a complex society is a society which produces itself and therefore reproduces less.

If we consider the school as an organism where social relations take place, then the school experience is an experience of social relations, just as the experience of social relations in any social system. The perception of social relations in school is specific when we consider the institution as a place historically isolated from the rest of society, or, in Dubet's words:

> "Society barely entered it and children were first and foremost pupils, caught from morning to night in a disciplinary ballet of extremely formalised sequences of work, of ritualised exercises repeated to exhaustion, of strict discipline and punishments, mostly physical. The vocation of the institutional program was primarily carried out by a school discipline consisting of control and precise rules, of carefully measured rituals: standing in line, going to the blackboard, writing with a pen, reciting a poem. More than the content, it is the school shape that determines the pedagogy, it is the discipline that socialises and educates at the same time." (2002, p. 91)[10]

Through the use of the sociology of experience Dubet (1994) sees the reality that arises from the experience of each actor in society: each works out his interpretation for himself, mirroring himself in the objective social structure that is also his view of an objective social world which provided him with the objective reality that was visible during the first socialisation as Berger and Luckman (2004) say. Dubet argues the social construction of reality is based on the experience of the actor and refers to Parson when he focuses on the need to correlate the active character of the actor with the structural character of the system. Parson's general theory of action, continues Dubet (*idem* , p. 33), consists of a social theory with four invariants: action for values, adaptability, movement for social integration, and motivation.

We will see how these invariants manifest themselves in the classes instituted by

[10] Translated from French.

the groups they make, in an approach to social relations that tends towards a horizontal power relation approach. By approaching power in this specific way, the relationship with knowledge approaches the meaning Charlot (1997, p. 91) gives to it when he puts the subject in interaction with its external knowledge and therefore prefers to speak of *"rapport au savoir "* in instead of *"relation au savoir"*[11].

As Lesne (1977, p. 225) argues, *"the brutal application of magisterial teaching may well play a greater role in prodding and agitating than intended by all methods which attempt to unleash the creative forces"*. Undoubtedly, this schooled education makes it possible to maintain an elite. But it's that education that helps to understand how painful the pupil's craft is, described by Perrenoud and remembered by Canário (2005:146), more painful than the most embarrassing, most dependent, most controlled and most judged job that you can think of for an adult. The reaction of the actor, when in an extreme situation, is well known: he resorts to survival strategies, deceit and hypocrisy (Canário, 2005).

Dubet (1994: 165) questions the school that Martuccelli (2000) describes as a factory of individuals. In the organisation thus characterised, the *teachers* are those who consider themselves the most artisans: the classroom is, as it were, an extension of their personality and attitude as teachers (Dubet, 2002). In this school organisation, the relationship with knowledge is considered as the relationship with the person who is identified as the depositor of this knowledge in children. That is the logic of what Freire calls banking education, where knowledge is deposited, and which Lesne describes as a transferable action with a normative orientation.

Defining the school as an institution that socialises and instils values evokes in it three functions: one of education, one of socialisation and one of selection, with different shades. We see the school of education (Durkheim) defined by the *curricula* to reproduce a certain culture, producing qualifications and school hierarchies. The French school Dubet (2002) analyses starts with what the author defines as a primary school that is not interested in the child but in the instruction of the rational being within it, an aspect that contributes to the construction of the French Republic. Similarly, Tyack and Cuban (1997) look at an American school factory model preparing for the industrial society of the last century.
Dubet and Martuccelli (1996) argue it is no longer possible to understand exactly what the school ultimately produces. It was a factory of subjects, a regulated institution, where everyone played his part. With its massification, it became a place of socialisation where subjects must master knowledge and culture and become carriers of the school culture. The school has become a kind of school market,

[11] A nuance that is difficult to translate. We could say that it is more a matter of 'interacting connection with knowledge ' than of 'relation to knowledge'.

where everyone tries to develop strategies to take their (best) place in the hierarchy and the fierce selection of the labor market has entered this school market. The authors conclude that alienation is at the root of the experience of school dominance (1996:332), not because of the person's separation (or estrangement) from work, but because of the distance that exists between socialisation and submission. This submission occurs in two ways: first, the hierarchy experienced at school consists of one of tests and the imposition of difficulties in mastering objects; second means the minimisation of class culture and rebellious language or speech that individuals are no longer able to present a positive definition of themselves in light of school statements.

In the media, the system is perceived as a place of violence, an experience of social domination. For the middle class, the school is a place of individual competition, because the school apparatus is seen as an extension of its social universe (in which there is room for advancement).
Nevertheless, the school became a model for compulsory education for the city's poor. It became generalised and does not seem to withstand its own massification. It continues to believe in the possibility of socialising and educating all individuals, with citizenship education programs, through standardised classes of artificially homogenised groups, within the context of its organisation. In this regard, Barroso says :

> "Since the inception of the public school (in the 19th century), this organisation has been relatively fixed by a series of 'invariants' some authors, such as Tyack and Tobin (1994), call grammar of schooling. This grammar forms:
>
> > 'a persistent (and almost unchanging) set of organisational and structural features that form an integral part of our view of teaching: students grouped into graduated classes, with a homogeneous composition and a little variable number of effectives; teachers who act individually, with a profile of generalists (primary education) or specialists (secondary education); structured spaces for school action, creating a pedagogy essentially focused on the classroom; rigidly established school schedules that put into practice a social control of school time; knowledge organised in school subjects, which are the structuring references of education and pedagogical work'. (2004, p. 53).

In the schooled society, the mass school is adopted as a natural phenomenon, crystallised into an organisation and shape which, because it is presented as universal, has become all-pervading. This hegemony leads to homogenising definitions of the school and its shape. Experience shows the social construction of a reality is imprisoned it as it were in a *grammar* which, if not carefully interpreted, can easily be understood as *normative grammar*. This leads to a critique of the

school which, however, is only a critique of the *hegemonic shape of the school,* as I shall try to show below.

However, the school presents itself in several shapes, and the experience of other school shapes should make possible the development of a more *universal comparative grammar*, making the current and future reinterpretation to become possible.

The school: dimensions and ways of being

In modern times, the school took on the process of teaching the social contract through which adults raise children who became students and instil respect for conventions, which govern the rights and duties of a people, as well as their way of life.

During *the time of certainties* that Canário (2005) situates between the French Revolution and the First World War*,* the school had its golden age. In this time frame, it taught student-children to be "masters of themselves" and enjoy their freedom as citizens of a nation-state, but at the same time it had the task of subjecting those same students to the norms imposed by society that founded liberal capitalism. As teacher-missionary and representative of reason and power, the adult gave himself completely to the cause. According to Canário (2005, p. 65), this representation remains part of the collective imagination of teachers.
The appeal is to adhere to a supposed production efficiency, reminiscent of La Salle's prescription for the *écoles chretiennes,* and influenced by the Taylor model of scientific work organisation. Before teachers realised it those who controlled the industry already realised that the subjugation of individuals as a result of this model was not sustainable. Touraine (1996, p. 89) recalls that generally conservative American industrial sociology showed that workers' behaviour conformed to this Taylor model only responding to financial incentives to ***reduce*** production and not to ***increase*** it. That is, industrial sociology has shown it is not true that competitive meritocracy increases production. However, with the massification of the school, a unified organisational model was developed, which Barroso defines as follows:

> "This unified mode of pedagogical organisation, the essential matrix of which is 'classroom teaching' has become one of the main defining elements of the 'school model' that underpins the creation and development of the public school originally associated with the construction of a collective pedagogy, which aimed 'to teach many as if they were one'" (2004, p. 54).

Field studies show teachers in this school model who think they are endowed with charisma, and, as legitimate representatives of power, continue to work with the

logic of the maker and of the "*new man*" (Ramos do Ó *apud* Canário, 2005, p. 64). This layout is based on an institutional program that lies outside the sphere of influence of the actors of the school institution, students and teachers. In the mass school, extraterritoriality creates a tension that accompanies the decline of the institution, as Dubet (2002, p. 123) puts it when referring to school asan armada of peers, made up of small battalions of peers.

Canário (2005, p. 65) refers the disenchantment with the school, at the entrance of *a time of uncertainty* he places in the last 30 years of the twentieth century. The extraterritorial school is driven by its institutional program and thus struggles to keep pace with the transformation of society in which the national state has lost its central role. The author resumes an idea of Ramos do Ó who argues that the school heralds the formation of the free and autonomous person, by continuing to use a school discipline that confuses school socialisation with individual, free and spontaneous adaptation of the individual.

Tending towards a homogeneous and universal shape of school, it is as if schools are incapable of defining themselves, each with its own specific form. That, in turn, ensures that they are analysed and reported as a monolithic, one-dimensional whole.

To continue his analysis to understand the school phenomenon, Canário proposes to distinguish three dimensions that *"refer to areas of analysis and debate that can and should be distinguished"* (2005, p. 63). He proposes the dimension of *institution*, an instrument of cultural, linguistic and political unification of nation-states, the dimension of *organisation*, which changes over time, even if at a certain moment it seems natural in the eyes of those who are subject to it, and finally the dimension of *shape*, which corresponds to the dimension of *pedagogy*. As the author mentions, methods and educational action are required here.

The school shape remains unclear as long as it is caught somewhere between institution and organisation in a systemic and homogenising discourse. Once isolated as one of three dimensions, it becomes a possible study object on social relations in a specific context.

An in-depth look at the social relations that develop in a particular school suggests a kind of kaleidoscopic picture of an overal school shape composed of different school shapes of social relations, with common traits but by no means homogeneous, rather as a *continuum of variants*. I will now briefly discuss the three dimensions of the school, and then focus my attention on the school shape, since this is the dimension where pedagogical action is located. I will investigate the hypothesis of multiple school shapes of social relations. That hypothesis implies the suggestion of a *continuum* of shapes that vary according to the approach to the relati-

on with power and the underlying pedagogical paradigm, which has consequences for the interacting connection with knowledge.

The dimensions of the school

School took on a prominent place in the organisation of modern society. The dimensions organisation and shape give a specific picture of the relationship between people in society. They manifest themselves as a result of a collective construction of the group of people who have an identity in the society in which they are enrolled. This identity is for Dubar (1997, p. 105), nothing more than the result of the various socialisation processes that together form individuals and define institutions.

The collective construction is permanent and related to the socialisation of each individual. One can imagine a factory of citizen-individuals, industrial products, inscribed in a perfect and immutable organisation, of an institution that naturalised and in this way tries to achieve a more stable, less provisional and more sustainable result. That is to say, the dreamed stability that is being pursued requires coercive processes to get rid of the provisional that arises from the permanent construction.

An institution trapped in the production model

So it is as *institution* that the school gets the image of a factory that produces civilians. For Martuccelli (2000, p. 305), the institution appropriates the culture of the dominant class, making it the dominant culture. As the author mentions, the hypothesis that the dominant ideology is transmitted in a coherent way has been abandoned in favor of more dynamic views, which are rooted, among other things, in interactions within the classroom, which depend on the social role of the teacher but also the way students develop social interactions.

In any case, according to the same author, the school, even if it is not as monolithic as it has long been imagined, was not in industrialised and schooled society the liberating space that the humanists wanted to make of it, nor the fortress that the reproduction of the society envisioned by the fabrication of individuals.

Not getting what you want doesn't mean you're not constantly trying to get there. In order for the school institution to maintain its identity, it is promane to exclude the contributions of the individuals who exist in it. Steiner (1992, p. 81) speaks for instance about the secularisation of education but adds that the dogma associated with it, formerly of a theological nature, that moral progress is brought about through education remains unaffected.

Curriculum theorists relate this same curriculum to rulers' determination to continue to pass on their dominant ideology. Sacristán (2000) approaches the curriculum in an almost dialectical perspective with the *praxis*, but does not fail to introduce the prescribed curriculum, as a political tool enabling control over the performance of schools, through implementation assistance or subsequent evaluation. Popkewitz (2011, pp. 91-133), critic of prescribed curricula, speaks of the alchemy of the curriculum, necessary in the context of school knowledge, giving the example of the mathematics curriculum. In a world of fragmented disciplines, working with children who are not mathematicians, putting pieces together should allow children's fabrication considering two types: the kind of problem-solving kids *and* the kind of *underprivileged* children. Alchemy should benefit the first kind, while allowing the development of strategies for the second kind so that in a suitable fabrication autonomous and "empowered" object-children can be produced. Mathematics fragmented in this way so a child can prove that it has mastered *"guess and confirm*", "*separate numbers*", "*subtract*" or "*divide by subtraction*" and is not taught as a language for understanding the present and modelling the future so that one can intervene to deal with the "pervasive" uncertainty of the future. An attempt is thus made, through a precise curriculum, to build the autonomous child in the face of the uncertainty in which it finds itself, without imagining the community and the cooperative learning that would enable it to contextualise and analyse its position, and understand why it was placed before the same uncertain future .

Similarly, with Apple (1997), we can interpret the curriculum as a tool for technical control of the teacher's and student's work, when it relates to the sale of the school textbook and the centralised certification of the content of that same written curriculum. The author reminds that culture presented as a product, and not as an experience, goes hand in hand with the widespread use of the manual and that the impact is great: between school and home, more than 80% of learning time is spent relaying on school learning materials (1997, p. 85). The author notes that despite the ubiquity of the manual, this does not even lead to a critical analysis of its contents, the sources used and the implicit and explicit economic and political ideology.

Going on, it is legitimate to question the existence of manuals that stand in the way of the contextualised interpretation of a curriculum. The use of manuals is part of a strategy to develop *'teacher-proofed work programmes'.* In democratic Portugal, things did seem to have changed after 1974 with regard to the use of the textbook. It became a didactic tool among other means of optional use decided by the teacher. But in Portuguese legislation after the introductions of the *Basic Law of the Education System* in 1989, the textbook gradually regained a more central

position. The manuals were legally rehabilitated during the first socialist Socrates government, when it became mandatory for the school's pedagogical authorities to justify the non-use of the textbook in certain situations. Similarly, government grants to families no longer support the purchase of school materials in general, but must be used to purchase textbooks. In many primary schools, the subsidies consist of the delivery of textbooks and not of opening a current account with the school stationary shop to get school materials needed for class work.

Paraskeva's extensive production, which he himself recapitulates (Paraskeva, 2011) makes explicit the interconnectedness of neoliberal thinking in the field of education. In this area, the institution tends to remain steadfast, thanks to an alliance between neoliberals, neoconservatives and populists, each for their own reasons mobilising their power to maintain a centrally controlled school model. At this point, Torres Santomé (1997, p. 38) introduces the concept of hidden curriculum. When he analyses the technocratic practices that install power in schools, he describes the logic that correlates economic and social conditions with disability or intellectual disability. The author recalls the continued popularity of sets of psychometric tests that the institution uses to measure people's intelligence and "prove" inherited tendencies that warrant a graded school to respond to the differing abilities of rich and poor, gifted and non-gifted, men and women, blacks and whites[12] and whatever else wanted to be separated, using measuring instruments designed for this purpose, a source of business and great income in all specialties of psychology .

The school curriculum subjects learning to teaching. In the school context, the student seeks the master not on to learn a metier. The institution forces the teacher and student into a relationship governed by rules decided outside of them in the purest Lassallian tradition. In modern society, the curriculum castrates the school, prescribes its social relations and imposes rituals. Looking at the setting, Gatto ironizes:

> "... the seven lessons of school education: Confusion, Right Attitude, Indifference, Emotional Dependence, Intellectual Dependence, Self-Esteem Conditioning, and Vigilance. All these lessons are fundamental training for the underprivileged classes, people forever deprived of the possibility of finding the center of their own characteristic genius. And as time went on, this workout diverged from its original goal: regulating the poor. From the 1920s, the power of the school bureaucracy grew also less visibly for a large number of industries benefiting from the school exactly as it is, so that this institution has come to the point where they now also have sons and daughters of the middle class regulates ." (2003, p. 37).

[12] All terms used by the institution itself

The installed power tries to preserve the school as one of the institutions of social control, even if the products of that school for industrial manpower no longer have the same importance in today's labor market as they did at the height of the Fordist assembly line. Diplomas demonstrating the principles and values of a privileged class are still distributed through the school and membership or limited access to certain circles remains reserved even at the time of the school's massification thanks to the controlled inflation of titles. With this onslaught of power in the school, it remains an institution focused on metaphorical and technocratic education, very different from Illich's learning shops (1972), and completely different from building reflective learning communities[13].

A bureaucratic organisation sensitive to change?

The organisation of the school has contributed most to the creation of a collective image of an unchanging space and time for the transmission of knowledge from the older generation to the younger generation.

When they arrive at school, young people are forced to submit to an organisation they are not familiar with, which therefore cannot be found outside the school. The relationship between adults and children becomes a relationship between teachers and pupils, who must adapt to the school's own codes of conduct. They begin to live and self-regulate through time, according to an order outside them, which forces them to artificially organise their interaction with the knowledge, sliced to fit predetermined times. Fernandes (2008) is one of the authors to address the issue and he provides a brief historical perspective of how school time was gradually regulated throughout the nineteenth century, making its acceptance an obligation for those who had to attend school. The similarities with other regulated institutions, such as the church and the factory, are very clear. As there, schools will gradually install bells, sirens or electric bells that control the lives of those who are required to stay.

The organisation, regulation and combination of students, first in groups based on what they have gone through in the curriculum, and later in individual classes, considering age as a common link to group them and listen together to the information provided by the teacher turns children and young people into recipients, depriving them, as De Koninck (2002, p. 31) points out, of essential subjects such as the study of literature or history at school.

In the time-conditioned school organisation, the typical rituals of the classical

[13] See below, " *Discussions and Morphological Suggestions* ", page 114.

school (Vincent *et al*., 1994) are frequent, such as the use of the aforementioned anachronistic manuals, testimonies of the school shape of simultaneous teaching and training exercises, in a clear teaching logic instead of a learning logic, with no intention other than who was instructed to perform the exercise .

The apparent immutability of the organisation of school time slots filled in with sliced information exist only because this organisation is experienced in the collective imagination as an imposition arising from the nature of the '*thing*' as if the '*thing*' were not a human invention was little more than a hundred years old.

A some more learning-oriented pedagogy, in which students are encouraged to take initiative, is in line with a finding by Duru-Bellat (*Apud* Dubet, 2002: 94) when she states that in France today 60% of young teachers values autonomy among the pupils, against 39% of the older generation. But of all almost one in five teachers continue to give absolute priority to the principle that the school serves to learn "*reading, writing and arithmetic*" even though the formation of a critical mind is valued by 87% of the same teachers . This pedagogy hardly fits into an organisation designed for an institution on which Power imposes the application of a normative curriculum that determines the progression and school trajectory of each of the students .

The school organisation itself does not change much when it is held hostage by the subject-organised knowledge, but is still more flexible in the first school, i.e. in kindergarten and primary school, with a generalist teacher. Curriculum management here is less dependent on school times than on the organisation that deploys different teachers for each subject. This also means the interpretation of the curriculum here is more open to the interpretation of the teacher. In the case of Portugal, and since the law on basic education came into force, it has only been possible in specific situations in secondary education to break away from management without the involvement of teachers and students. Meanwhile a tighter school organisation has been introduced in the first cycle corresponding to a four-year primary school device. Until recently a single teacher was the rule. After the bureaucratic division in subject hours brought in by the socialist first Socrates government, in the second half of the first decade of the twenty-first century, with the right-liberal Passos Coelho government, greater fragmentation of times and curriculum management popped up. With the marked increase in central imposed rules for the organisation and regulation of school activity, this regulation is externalising with respect to teachers and students. Everything recalls the 1980s regulations of the Reagan administration considered a failure even by the subsequent US administration chaired by George H. Bush. In a report from the State Secretariat for Public Education, we read:

> "In the 1980s, the United States, seeking to improve public schools, tried to get better results through tighter curricula, higher levels of teacher certification, and more exams for everyone. Despite these efforts, students at the end of the decade did essentially no better than at the beginning. More of the same was not a successful strategy" (SCANS, 1992: xvi).

The authors of this report draw on the experience of public schools in several US states. They then suggest a school organisation that makes it easier for students and teachers to do fieldwork, a collaborative negotiation and planning for integrated activities and subjects, based on the model of public schools in Fort Worth, Texas (1992, p. 42). Similarly, Carra & Pagoni (2007, p. 31-61) report the reorganisation of a suburban school in the Lille region of France, which was the subject of a sought-after intervention, in which it was decided to place the school organisation in the hands of teachers and students, so that the school itself works out its own project instead of depending on rules and regulations imposed by outsiders .

Less bunkered by political power than in its institutional dimension, the school, in its organisational dimension, seems to find own ways of organisation for specific circumstances.

The shape that forms.

For Canário (2005), the dimension school shape represents a specific way of understanding learning. In this sense, the learning relationship that is established is independent of the dimensions of institution and organisation. In other words, every school has its form of organising its relationship with power and knowledge and the way it develops the pedagogical relationship between the individuals that make it up.

A particular organisation established for the school setting can facilitate or hinder the heterogeneity of forms, but not completely exclude them, because the organisational structure cannot control all the variables of a relationship that develops from day to day as a result of the interactions between the intervening parties.

When Vincent *et al.* (1994) talk about school shape, they sometimes refer to it in the singular, sometimes in the plural. In the singular, the concept approaches that which Lahire defines as *a school shape of learning* or *a school shape of socialisation,* ie a specific way of setting up of social relations, with a number of immutable characteristics. In the plural, it is the shapes of social relations in certain contexts that we generally denoting school context, but which, because they are in different environments, differ from each other. They are *school shapes of social relations* specific to basic schools and I would say classes — especially if with only one teacher — and developing some singular characteristics for those schools or classes.

Thus, the term *school shape* used here in the singular indicates a general mode of social relations in learning and socialisation specific to the school setting. The term *school shapes*, when used here in the plural, refers to social relationships in specific school settings of the institution school. It is these school shapes that form the basis of the school shape *continuum* hypothesis.

As Canário (2005) refers, with the dimension of school shape we enter the domain of pedagogy and therefore of the answers to the question "*how do you do that?*". Gradually "*how do you do that?*" evolved to "*how should it be done*". A field of study and action what some authors call the field of pedagogy was narrowed to a recipe book as we will see in the next point.

The craft of schoolmaster (the teacher) of the secular primary school as it emerges from the French Revolution, differs from that of any other master. The schoolmaster does not make pieces like the other artisans. His profession pretends to produce citizens. It consists in ensuring that the values of the Republic, of the secular state, are instilled in the minds of future generations. Meirieu (1996) ironically calls this desire to fabricate man *the Frankenstein pedagogy*. He is of course making an allusion to that other dream of making a human being and given that the Frankenstein story was 'born' in Geneva, it has perhaps some legitimacy to address education issues to it. Educational fabrications abound, just think of Pinocchio, Pygmalion, but also the Golem. They are stories reminiscent of the citizen factory with its equally dubious results, studied and analysed by authors such as Van Zanten (2000), Rochex (1995), Pain and Oury (1972), to name a few .

Dubet (2002, p. 90) describes the teacher in rural France at the beginning of the last century as follows: a model for children, who conveys the values considered right; he enjoyed the status of a man of knowledge in the places where he worked. In a sense, education was seen as a guarantee of the human incarnation (Rousseau) and, being an instrument of liberation from savage oppression, would promote the replacement of an arbitrary alienation by a collectively desired alienation. The pedagogical relationship was no longer a personal relationship, but a subjection of teachers and students to impersonal rules (Vincent *et al* ., 1994, p. 17), created for this purpose. For the main founders of the educational device that in the beginning was built *"teaching is intervening in the lives of students so that they are different from what they would be if they were not educated"* (Popkewitz, 2008, p. 117). In seeking the modelling standard, teaching the model, and correcting deviation from the model, techniques, strategies, and actions are soon devised that may vary from each other, but always consider the learner as the object of conditioning.

On the other hand, as we will see later, there is the ability to vary this relationship with learning even in its school shape, allowing for a multitude of shapes within

what Dubet and Martuccelli (1996) call *school shapes of socialisation* and Vincent *et al.* (1994) define as *school shapes of social relations*.

As mentioned, we approach pedagogy with the school shape. Houssaye (2004) recalls the two lines of work related to education. He considers one the theoretical line the other the practical-theoretical line. On the first line work whom he identifies as scientists and philosophers of education, on the second whom he defines as pedagogues. The author describes the links that have always existed between these two lines of work. He argues that the educational sciences have tried in vain to talk pedagogy into death because they wanted it to lose its legitimacy in order to achieve their own goals. Houssaye places pedagogy in the dialectical encounter between practice and theory and therefore considers a pedagogue as *"someone who creates added value in and through the articulation between theory and practice in education"* (2004, p. 10). I will come back on the author's further approach to the work of pedagogues in the second chapter, under the morphological suggestions.

The school can therefore be viewed from different angles, and in order to be able to position ourselves on the discussion plan that interests us, Canário (2005) proposes three dimensions, including the shape. This shape announces itself in different ways and it is possible to find similarities between many of the variations. Assuming that the relationships play an important role in the interaction necessary to stimulate or hinder any learning process, this is the privileged dimension to study *A Voz da Ajuda* and understand the contribution this singular school can make to the general debate about the future of school.

School shapes of social relations.

The school shape dimension brings together a wide range of more or less similar shapes, which have two aspects in common: they determine social relations and exist only in the specific space-time of the school.

The relationships between people at school are immediately associated with the work performed by an adult in the role of teacher, with a group of young people in the role of pupil. In the logic of pedagogical action, the power delegated to the teacher makes him the most important actor, especially when we approach teaching with the Durkheim logic, which Dubet and Martuccelli (1996, p. 30) identify as that in which the child evolves from the state of primitive savage to the state of developed person as a result of the action of education characterised by reason and progress.

The pedagogical relationship is invented within the school. With regard to this invention Lesne (1977) claims that if overviewing all possible training courses the-

re are in its simplest form three theoretical modes of pedagogical work, each of which is determined by relations with knowledge and with power. According to Lesne, these three ways determine three key aspects in the whole process of socialisation: social reproduction, social adaptation, and social production (1977, p. 217). The author mentions the *type of pedagogical transmission work* a way of working that applies to a school designed for object-pupils, a school that has to deliver a normalised social product. It is a way of working that fits in well with the *grammar or schooling* described by Tyack and Tobin (1994). That way is characterised by methods Lesne (1977) defines as affirmative and questioning teaching, master teaching, computer aided or programmed education, program modules, problem studies and brain training. All this has its origins in what Foucault calls the "disciplinary time" which is gradually introduced in school, inspired by military instruction that provides for a series of exercises, depending on the level and rank of each person:

> "This is the disciplinary time that gradually imposes itself on pedagogical practice — the specialised training time disconnected from the adult time, the time of the acquired craft; the organisation of different stages separated from each other by graded keys; determining programs, each of which must be performed at a certain stage and which contain exercises of increasing difficulty; qualifying the individuals based on how they progressed through these series. The "initiation" time of traditional training has been replaced by disciplinary time with its multiple and progressive series" (Foucault, 2009, p. 153) .

In his analysis, Lesne (1977) associates objective and cumulative modeled knowledge with the *pedagogical mode of transmission*. The deviation from the standard determines the action of the transferring teacher, who is in fact performing a corrective activity. The measurement of the deviation and the determination of the subsequent correction are based on a quantitative control and knowledge assessment, performed by the teacher who has the undisputed pedagogical power and is therefore implicitly or explicitly accepted.

The author describes the second pedagogical mode as *a starting point* to personal orientation and the third as *appropriation mode* aiming social integration. In the second mode, knowledge, which exists in various forms, is freely available to those who seek it. The student is prompted or motivated by teacher actions specifically designed to stimulate or liberate the student's personal autonomy, which facilitates the incorporation of available knowledge. In this case, the explicit exercise of pedagogical power is denied. The teacher introduces forms of co-direction or self-direction of classes or groups and the qualitative control is done by group-driven self-assessment. In the third mode aiming social integration, knowledge has dual scientific *and* social status. This social dimension of knowledge is the one

we will find in Charlot (1997), when he talks about learning figures and suggests three different interactions with knowledge: the 'epistemic' one, the identitarian one and the one of social interaction, the latter contributing to the specification the first two relations with knowledge. In this way of working, says Lesne (1977), pedagogy is a dialectical relationship between theory and practice. Here, the pedagogical power is recognised and related to the social shaping of power, leading to its democratic exercise, between the facilitator and learners. The evaluation checks the effect of the work and whether it has promoted the desired group's connection with knowledge; that is, the sanction arises from the work and how it was performed.

A short analysis (Paulus, 2010) of fifty-three school biographies written by young university students testifies to school activities that are essentially determined through the work of the teacher. The forty-one descriptions of mainly Portuguese primary school classes between 1980 and 1999[14], testify to the pedagogical action and the pedagogical power typical for the pedagogical mode of transmission. We witness schoolwork detached from the local environment, in a universe where the child fulfils its painful student craft. The depicted school has clear hierarchical features, specific routines and rituals around a relationship with knowledge that consists almost exclusively of hearing transferred facts with a normative orientation, as a result of which it is considered useful and necessary the transferring person also to evaluate and sanction.

The school depicted here does not differ in it its shape from the French republican school that disciplines children who are still in an uncontrolled "wild" state (Durkheim) by means of precise regulations. It is the school that Dubet and Martuccelli (1996, p. 30) synthesised in a sense from the empirical work carried out during the last twenty years of the last century[15]. According to the authors, in this school shape, students and teachers are separated by a barrier impossible to cross, different from another school shape, which places more importance on cooperation between students and on the student-tutor relationship, such as in some English colleges.

There is a lineage of school shapes of social relations that resort to what Dubet and Martuccelli (1996, p. 31) call the pedagogy of exercises, as opposed to a school shape that focuses on a pedagogy of trial and error, of touch and of invention. The Pedagogy of Exercises, largely based on the school textbook and Lesne introduces as *Pedagogy of Deviation to the Model* continues to exhibit the logic of

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[14] This period involves the six years before and fourteen years after the introduction of the base law for basic education in Portugal.

[15] Empirical work was don by inter alia , Bautier, Charlot and Rochex (2000), Dubet (1994), Dubet and Martuccelli (1996), Rochex (1995).

military instruction :

> " The serialisation of successive activities allows full control of the duration by those who exercise the power : the possibility of detailed control and punctual intervention (differentiation, correction, punishment, elimination) at any time; the ability to characterise individuals, that is, to use individuals according to their level in the degrees they pass through" (Foucault, 2009, p. 154).

The school shape underlying this pedagogical mode of transmission is part of a logic in which students are regarded as objects of conditioning. This goes back to the lassallian practice and the mutual school, which had a highly regulated organisation:

> "At the beginning of the nineteenth century, timetables would be suggested as follows for each singular school: 8:45 a.m. entry; 8.52 monitor call; 8.56 entry and prayer for children; 9am access to banks; 9.04 first slate; 9.08 end of dictation; 9.12 second ..." (Foucault, 2009: 145).

The self-reproducing effect of the educational system is manifested in the fertilisation of these and other rituals, sometimes only slightly modified, yet still part of the syntax incorporated in the grammar of schooling widespread in the schooled society. The imprint is so great that a school shape adopting different pedagogical principles is referred to as an *alternative to the school shape*, as Reuter (2007) does when he speaks of a Freinet school or as Francomme does (2010) when he refers to Freinet pedagogy as an *alternative shape of school*. This reasoning is engrained in a way of thinking that calls anything alternative that does not generate social relations characterised by a hierarchical power relationship and a relationship with knowledge consciously only with its epistemic dimension, as if they were the only existing group of variants of the school shape.

So one speaks for example about Waldorf-Steiner alternative pedagogy, Montessori alternative pedagogy, Paulo Freire alternatives, the alternatives Fernand Oury or members of the modern school movements produce. In the Netherlands or in Belgium, where the network of state schools partly consists of schools that develop clear pedagogical projects, with teaching teams trained and recruited for this purpose, schools that do not subscribe the hierarchical Lassallian school shape[16] are still often given the alternative label, ie as if they were some kind of exception to a universal law of nature. Some actors involved place themselves in the margins and do not present their initiative as one among other school shapes of social relations, not even as a singular variant of the school shape, but as an alternative to the school shape. They present their work in opposition or in comparison to what is then called the traditional or classical school. The brochure "*A nossa*

[16] For the Lassallian shape, see below: *"Subject-object social relations"* .

escola" published by the *Conselho Escolar da Voz do Operário da Ajuda*[17] in 1990, does not completely escape this way of thinking when presenting the school shape. In the preface, Manuela Machado distinguishes two pedagogical currents, after which she devotes a paragraph to what she calls the way in which *"the teacher takes sole control of the class "* (1990: 3) as common practice in the *" traditional school"* and then continues *"On the contrary, the two-way interaction model is based on the principles of active pedagogy"*. The school team limits itself to its presentation of the work and the school. The way of working is linked to the curriculum and *"renovation proposals"* of the Ministry of Education. The project is explained over fifty pages, through of testimonials from children and adults, but comparison is not forgotten:

> "The school consolidated different ways of integrating children that were often rejected in other schools. Rejected by the system itself or by competition within a classroom" (1990: 5).

A few years later, Houssaye (1996) brings together texts on Fernand Oury and Sérgio Niza — the latter written by Graça Vilhena and António Nóvoa — with five other pedagogues contemporary to them and clarifies their pedagogical lines with similarities and differences suggesting for variations on school shapes of social relations. The critical analysis these and other pedagogues make of the dimensions of institution and organisation primarily serves as a starting point leading to reflections to evolve the school shape of social relations as their work proposals evoke. The school as an institution is discussed and certain aspects of the school organisation are questioned. They themselves often show doubts about chosen pedagogical paths. The contradictions arising from the insufficiency of the hegemonic school shape, even if it is in line with the collective imagination of teachers about their role, with the desired extraterritoriality as well, yet cannot keep up with the accelerating changes in its environment, even with its institutional program, evoke a field of tension according to pedagogues as defined by Houssaye (2004). They are not the only ones to notice these and other phenomena. Rui Canário recalls, for example, that *"at school, children no longer ask questions but only give the answers they have learned"* (2005, p. 69). We observe a mainly epistemic relationship with knowledge (Charlot), in which the transfer of information continues to prevail at the expense of the relationship with knowledge. Moreover, we see what we can call hierarchical use of power. Children are subordinated to norms by the ubiquity of teachers, as Dubet and Martuccelli say (1996, p. 76).

The choice of a school shape of social relations that respects children as subject-authors and does not regard them as subject-objects arises from individual and

[17] The brochure 'Our School' published by de cooperative schoolboard of the school used as case study.

collective considerations resulting of the interrogation of teachers among themselves when they see themselves as actors in action (Touraine, 1996). The handyman (*bricoleur* for Meirieu, *tinkerer* for Tyack and Cuban) who is at the same time an intellectual who internalises processes, subverts the apparent immutability and naturalness of the elitist school shape variant, of "*high culture*" imposed by what Steiner (1992, p. 93) refers to as the superior circles, who certainly regard the death of Galois at the age of twenty-one as a catastrophe incomparably greater than the deaths of ordinary people, even in large numbers in a mine explosion.

It cannot be denied that the general school announces itself with a logic of controlling and commanding popular masses. Even in representative democracy the school shape based on the pedagogical mode of transfer prescribes attitudes and procedures that are reinforced in conservative contexts. That transference seems inevitable in a school organisation that groups and separates students according to their origins, possessions or merely according to expectations based on representations. But all this does not mean that the school shape is limited to lassallian variants — countered by some marginal or alternative forms — just because they have gained the status of natural school shape even by those who criticise it for giving it exclusivity in their analyses.

Five Characteristics of Scriptural School Shapes of Social Relations

Lahire (2008, p. 45) introduces the school shape to learning and determines its invariance among all kind of shapes of social relations in the recurrent pattern of a particular form of social relations.

Within the framework of a *school shape theory* Lahire suggests together with Vincent and Thin a relatively immutable social form of social relations, called *"school shapes of social relations" (1994, p. 31)* which defines this schooled mode of learning as linked to the transition from oral social shapes of relationship to these scriptural school shapes. They place the birth of this school shape of learning with Démia and his school for the poor in Lyon together with the *écoles chretiennes* of La Salle and with the later emerging mutual schools. They characterise these scriptural school shapes in five points. The slightly reformulated characterisation will make it possible to increase the number and variety of the school shapes of social relations, including those that fill in a different way the relation to power and the relation to knowledge then in Lassallian or Demian mode.

I recall the proposal of Rui Canário (2005) that among the three dimensions of the school, it is the school shape that refers to the debate on pedagogy and the way in which schooling and education of young people is understood. The school shape thus introduces the discussion of social relations and learning relations into the

specifically conceived social space that is the school. It is important to situate the relationship with power and knowledge respectively, and in our context it is especially necessary to understand how these relationships are assumed in school.

Vincent *et al.* 's characterisation is summarised as follows: (1) the school as a specific place, separate from other social practices, is linked to the existence of objectified knowledge; (2) the "pedagogization" ie the training of social learning relationships resorts to a scriptural coding contained in the grammar of practices; (3) the transfer of knowledge, unlike the transfer of experience, typical of oral social shapes, allows the production of lasting socialisation effects; (4) shapes of social relations, in a particular place, and based on objectification and codification, allow the learning of different ways to manage power, and (5) the school shape of social relations is the constitutive social form of a scriptural school relationship with language and the world.

Let's briefly review the characterisation proposed by the authors and how it can be expanded point by point.

1. The school as a specific place, separate from other social practices, is linked to the existence of objectified knowledge.
   The authors point out that writing, which breaks with oral social forms of knowledge transfer and exercise of power, gives rise to the preservation of accumulated culture in an incorporeal state (1994, p. 30). The school is therefore increasingly profiling itself as the place to become acquainted with the written heritage in very heterogeneous cultural domains. The school becomes, as it were, a compulsory border crossing for all people, despite very diverse activities or very different social positions. They illustrate the separation from other social practices with the Lassallian schools, which are neither professional nor theological schools, but places where knowledge is made a school, that is, where even the catechism is subject to the school logic of transmission of knowledge.
   The school is linked to the existence of objectified knowledge. That is, the appropriation of this knowledge is not through the relationship with the masters who possess the knowledge, but through the appropriation of techniques that allow access to this knowledge. As we shall see, the need to appropriate these techniques does not isolate the school from other social practices. It is perfectly possible to think of a school as a place *distinct* from other social practices, because it *is specific* to learning techniques needed in a context of objectified knowledge, interacting with other social learning practices. It is possible to appropriate knowledge, to conceive of alternating and integrating sources of information. School centers for young people with an

apprenticeship contract in countries such as Belgium or Germany, ideally seek that connection. According to Tragtenberg (2003), Pistrak's work school at the beginning of the twentieth century proposes a relationship with other social practices, by actively involving children not only in craft work, but also in school management, creating the "child collective".

As we will see in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, the school sees itself as a specific place, linked to the existence of objectified knowledge, separate from other social practices, but in close interaction with them.

2. The "pedagogization" ie the training of social learning relationships resorts to a scriptural coding contained in the grammar of practices.

   For Vincent *et al.* (1994, p. 31), the mode of school socialisation is closely linked to the written nature of the knowledge to be imparted. The authors define pedagogical work as a specific work, which should revive the results of previous work. It is about getting students to internalise knowledge that has acquired its coherence through writing and writing processes. According to the authors, this poses a historically unprecedented problem namely the way this transfer takes place. Placing themselves in a position that corresponds to Lesne's pedagogical type of transmission mode they view the process of "pedagogization" as the learning process, the process which, according to Houssaye (2004), relates knowledge to the teacher and makes the student an object of this relationship. They see in the schools of La Salle and in the proposals of the French mutual schools the perfect example of training, where every step, every aspect of work organisation is foreseen, described and controlled. The authors also mention how the education committee of 1815 was engaged in preparing the necessary pedagogical material for the model-mutuele in Paris in order to help the teacher: reading tables, syllabuses , calculation schemes appeared as the first tools that made a '*teacher-proofed*' education possible, something many authors including Tyack and Cuban (1997), Gatto (2003) and Kincheloe (2006) called into question.

   The "pedagogization" of social relations, in a broader sense, is the invention of the pedagogical relation, in a specific learning space. This 'pedagogization' has no single mode, as Lesne (1977) has shown us, but depends on the way in which facilitators deal with knowledge and how facilitators perceive themselves in relation to place the group. Writing and codifying the pedagogical work in relation to knowledge is assumed to be different depending on the relationship between the teacher and the students. The need to get acquainted with written knowledge persists no immutability of action in relation to the way of doing things . Authors as Illich or Freire devise a "pedagogization" of the social relationship from learning, placing in the pedagogical scenario

the master, the teacher or the facilitator who mediates, or the interaction to facilitate the knowledge each learner is trying to set up. To this end, they propose places of learning which, without eradicating the school institution for it, are usually not this institution in its best-known school organisation. The authors associated with the modern school movements, on the other hand, see the 'pedagogization' of social relations in the school itself, and thus develop the same relations further within the schooling itself. They do this on the basis of their critique of the transmission pedagogical mode in mass schools from the end of the nineteenth century (Freinet, 1969; Pain and Oury, 1972; Niza, 2012; and others). Each of them propose organisational modes from their own time and context, that make the decoding of knowledge a collective work in which students are actively involved, without using prescriptively the grammar of practices.

3. The transfer of knowledge, unlike the transfer of experience, typical of oral social shapes, allows the production of lasting socialisation effects.
   Vincent *et al.* (1994, p. 32) approach this third point in their characterisation of school shapes of social relations, saying that the codification of knowledge and school practices leads to a systematisation of education enabling at the same time the production of lasting socialisation effects, arguing that all studies on the cognitive effects of school confirm this. According to the authors, the school shape of learning is therefore simultaneously opposed to learning within oral social forms by practice, without resorting to writing, and to the unsystematised, unformalised, unsystematic learning to read or to endure writing.
   Expanding this characteristic, we can come up with a specific relationship that we tentatively call a desirable and "pedagogical" learning relationship, sufficient and necessary for learning to read and write. It is necessary because learning to read and write requires practice and systematisation which only a shape of desirable social learning relationship can guarantee. The intentionality of this relationship, which consists precisely in allowing those who do not know to practice and internalise to become aware of their knowing , enables the learner to achieve lasting acquisition. It is sufficient, because whenever this form of specific social relationship comes about, the technical ability of those who teach causes those who learn to acquire the technique of reading and writing.
   Anyone who analyses formal education systems is confronted with a problem that has been systematically referred to its becoming. There is a large number of children who, although subject to a shape of school to learn the written language, do not do so in a sustainable way. The conclusions are of a different nature and range from questioning the ability of certain children or

social groups to learn, to questioning the organisation or institution in which the pedagogical relationship should enable the sustainable acquisition of reading and writing.

These various questions lead, as Canário (2005) writes, to disagreements about the paths and methods to be followed. These quarrels feed on contributions from different fields of knowledge in the humanities.

Those who question children's ability to learn try to define a perfect shape of school, again with teacher-proofed precepts that others have already shown to be ineffective, and develop ideal procedures for children to fit into the standard that has previously been fixed for them, taking the others be considered sick. Those are then sent to various side processes that will "cure" them enough so they can be included in the standard. It is sufficient to compare arguments of authors like Foucambert, Gramsci or Morais to realize that there are fierce debates in which ideology sometimes taints science.

Others, including pedagogues[18], propose to think about the school shape they were confronted with. While some among them observe a single school shape and generalize it, others observe different school shapes of social relations and open the field for comparative work between these forms, with the intention to understand strengths and weaknesses of each of them. Averse to generalist simplifications or miraculous solutions, these analysts admit that they are in a non-closed context and are available to discuss and study the appropriation of the writing code and the construction of meaning among the members of a group of students with their teacher.

What presents itself as a school shape of social relations and underlies a particular practice being analysed is called *alternative* or *variant*, depending on the point of view of the speaker. In most cases they are practices in evolution, developing an evolutionary pedagogy, generating a school shape of social relations that is also evolving, because of the permanent underlying reflection.

Since there is a consensus among pedagogues that the absence of a learning relationship in any school shape of social relationships precludes the sustained acquisition of written knowledge, it is not at all clear how and where these relationships come about to achieve the intended outcome[19]. Finally, and as with other social practices, just because the school shape of social

[18] Houssaye (2004) argues that any educator who thinks about his classroom behaviour is a candidate to become a pedagogue.

[19] Or, to recall the words of Nóvoa : "*When it comes to education, no politician doubts, no commentator is wrong, no Portuguese hesitates. Worn words, useless banalities. Evidences. What is evidente lies, evidently"* (2005:15). The pun is lost. The original says: "*Inúteis. banalidades, mentiras. O que é evidente mente, evidentemente".*

relations is opposed to oral social forms does not mean that it does not interact with it. The contact with those who talk about their craft, their experience, and the non-written learning resulting from that experience remains of very great educational richness, giving powerful significance to the simultaneous appropriation of knowledge by the scriptural school, as those who talk about their first school in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* testified.

4. Shapes of social relations, in a particular place, and based on objectification and codification, allow the learning of different ways to manage power.

   This claim is illustrated by Vincent *et al.* (1994, p. 32) from the setting: in school, teachers and students obey impersonal commands. The teacher, through the diploma, is given a legal status to be the intermediary: he obeys the same orders as the students, laid down in the regulations, and enforces the same rules on the students. As we will see in the next point, there is a meticulous coding of one's behaviour in Lassallian schools, just as in the schools of Démia. The regulation from the outside is reflected in the directions given to the teacher who must speak as little as possible, using a series of code gestures to indicate to the students what they have done well or badly and what to do next. Verbal interaction is kept to a minimum. The authors state that La Salle's aim is to depersonalise social relationships, to make the student a disciplined student and to eliminate any polysemy that could interfere with classroom functioning. Therefore, the verbal interaction is regulated, which means that the teacher's answers are brief, perfectly logical, accurate, and formulated in such a way that even mediocre students, ie most students, perceive the answer (Vincent *et al.*, 1994 , p. 34). According to the authors, the French mutual schools introduce a method of learning that differs in terms of imposed external rules. Here reason is appealed to, and the tamed and disciplined student is now a reasoning student. One should not be subjected to discipline, but one should learn to understand and accept it. But, the authors continue, the only change is the relationship to the impersonal rules, not their nature, as they continue to dominate all school activities. Teachers can use signals, whistles, hands and arms to properly direct the hundreds of schoolchildren under their care. Papers and manuals exclude any improvisation or free choice by the teacher.

   Vincent *et al*.'s picture of the mutual school does not differ much from the account Pain and Oury (1972) compiled from the testimonies of hundreds of teachers describing teaching in post-second world war French schools in the middle of the last century.

   Oury was one of the educators who got to know form inside the school shape of social relations in the place he identifies as *barracks school*. He realised

that when the group participates in setting up the codification, the relatively closed place of the classroom gives the opportunity to actually learn to exercise power in different forms. The objectified knowledge of power is supplemented by experimentation, where the group acquires identity, as is the case in a learning community, the kind of group that bears some resemblance to the communities of practice suggested by Lave and Wenger.

Learning to manage power in a group is also not unknown to Pistrak. This Russian pedagogue, proposing a work school where experience and objectified knowledge coexist, criticises the Dalton plan school, which, while giving children more power over their work, seduces them into individualism. Pistrak proposes the general assembly of children, in which the teacher has a voice. We will find this practice in Freinet and the assembly of the class cooperative. Institutional pedagogy (Pochet and Oury, 1979) regulates power in the classroom with the Council of the Cooperative Classroom, evolving in the Portuguese MEM into the Cooperative Educational Council (Niza, 1991) which searches for decisions taken by consensus .

As I said, it is not only about the perception of power in relation to those involved, it is also about the perception of power as a study object, which is not easy. The analysis of complex issues ultimately related to the exercise of power — such as men's intolerance toward women or the latent racism in a society that claims to be hospitable — is not easy for 9-year-old children (and even for adults) and not explicitly included as a subject in the curriculum, but it is part of the knowledge gathering required to understand the world. That analysis is complex in itself. Yet it is possible to perform it at school as long as the class exists as a carefully socially constructed one group, as I have already described (Paulus, 2004, p. 40).

5. The school shape of social relations is the constitutive social form of a scriptural school relationship with language and the world.

   With this fifth characteristic, Vincent *et al.* (1994, p. 36) make school the place for the formal learning of a written language, with its grammatical, orthographic, and stylistic norms, which originally had to do with learning to read. It has become a cultural proof that the school has become the place of language learning. This relationship, interaction with the language and the world, is a symbolic promotion. This, according to the authors, was what Vygotsky clearly saw: the school promotes contemplation and the comprehension, the explicit mastery of language, where the school shape make a social image of the school's scriptural relationship with language and with the world.

Reviewing the history of the school shape, its evolution can be observed. In this

way we can also note that despite the invariants characterising the school shape as a specific form of social relation, the school shapes continue to emerge in many flavours, sufficient to speak of school shapes of social relations parallel in space, but mutually communicable in the time, indispensable for their mutual evolution.

The characterisation Vincent *et al.* give for the school shape of learning is not determined by any specific pedagogical practice, even though if it were to be established on a large scale. Therefore, nothing holds the hypothesis against a *continuum* of school shapes of social relations, which are distinct from each other and can be grouped into families, each of which has specific characteristics within the overall invariants. A common educational grammar can thus be worked out from different pedagogical paradigms. As we shall see, the syntax uses specific elements, where the relationship with power and the relationship or interaction with knowledge occupy specific places.

This chapter approaches, in the last two points, these two relations in their most common form, after which the next chapter examines all variants of these same relationships, including the lesser known ones.

School and power relations

Because of the importance given to the school in the schooled society, there is constant interference from those who organise school with what is being done in it. When we talk about school and power relations, there are at least three angles.

The first relation angle is instrumental. The nation-state installs the school with the clear aim of producing citizens. Whoever in charge, elected or not, tries to persuade people and to shape the minds in function of a social project pursued by the elected ones. By using instrumental power they determine who gets access to what kind of school, in what way and to do what. The patterns are marked ideologically, in the sense Vidal mentioned by Sedas Nunes (2005, p. 85) gives to the concept:

> "Ideologies have no individually identifiable authors, such as, for example, doctrines objectified in the works of Marx-Engels, Keynes, or Marcuse and so on: they are collective cultural products, formed in groups, social classes, societies, and disseminated as common ways (structures) of thinking and of reading and appreciating social reality, without being possible to attribute authorship to it. They come about in social practice itself, similar to what happens with common sense decisions, which also have no author."

The second relation angle is a dependency relationship closely related to the first. The State that institutes the school by those enforcing the laws exercises direct power over its shape by prescribing the curriculum. It wields indirect power

through the rules of class-group composition and the placement of teaching staff.

The third angle of relation is within the school. It is the relationship with power that most directly determines and in part supports the school shape of social relations of a singular school or class based on the pedagogical choices of a teacher or a group of teachers. The relative freedom school actors have in executing the prescribed curriculum depends on the interpretation given to this freedom by superior authority in the Nation State. That freedom is at least a determining factor in the interference of the power external to the school organisation with the internal power which in turn co-determines the school shape of social relations.

The historical relationship between education by instruction and power has to do with material and immaterial possessions, including the possession of what has been written and goes back to the predominantly illiterate societies thus depending on oral social relations. Possession of the script puts the scribe-priest close to the gods and those who manages the divine material possessions. As Lahire points out:

> "What distinguishes the first social formations of 'the State' and of 'writing' from societies long identified as primitive is precisely the existence in them of institutions of power (palaces and temples) legitimised by the gods. The religious gulf that used to exist between man and his origins is now, as Marcel Gauchet writes, 'between men themselves, separating one from the other. They are oppressors on the side of the gods and oppressed not having that position'" (2008, p. 52).

Lahire expands on that idea, stating that, when the writer writes the myth, it is removed from the shape of social relationships in which it had initially acquired meaning. It is externalised, meaning that the scribes, as well as the priests, are less subject or possessed by the myth. Objectification thus leads to institutionalisation and those who institutionalise dominate those who do not have the instrument that confers this power. The principle of divine control is maintained by La Salle. Impersonal rules maintain separation. Teachers pass the word of those closest to impersonal power, as they themselves must obey the precept. Foucault speaks of a tradition of the sublimity of the smallest details *"where all the rigor of Christian education, of school or military pedagogy, of all forms, finally, of instruction would be located"* (2009, p. 135). The author claims that for La Salle, in the eyes of God, no immensity is greater than a "detail".

At the same time as the *écoles chrétiennes* of La Salle, the schools of Démia appeared, known as the founder of the schools for the poor. These schools, Oliverio (1986, p. 22) explains, in the words of Démia, had the effect of removing "*little tramps" from the streets* while at the same time the emerging bourgeoisie in French seventeenth century would no longer have difficulties in obtaining faithful ser-

vants and well-trained workers. The school serves to inspire love for work. Youngsters stay there until they have learned their metier. But the school also has another function:

> "Removed from the family, the child is kept in a school or university, as a little hostage on whose good behaviour depends the aid and subsidies given to the family. For example, it became customary to summon the fathers and mothers of poor children to determine by means of an examination whether children had read the catechism. They had the children repeated it until they knew it by heart, and then obtain a grant commensurate with their means and need. On the other hand, every child became a bit of a missionary [...] Schools were not only made for children, but also to educate parents through them."
>
> (Oliverio, 1986, p. 23).

The school institution has power over who is obliged to attend. At the time of the Enlightenment, Oliverio continues, it was decreed :

> "For the good of society « that the knowledge of the people should not exceed what is useful to their occupations » [...] since « among commun people it is almost unnecessary to be able to read and write, except for those who work in crafts ». (1986:24).

For Foucault (2009, p. 141), the school is one of the disciplinary institutions, together with the church, the prison, the military instruction and the hospital. In each of these settings, a person becomes a file and therefore an object. Military discipline emerges in school when the class becomes homogeneous, when students are forced to organise themselves into ranks according to their age, performance and behaviour. This spatial arrangement makes it possible to design the school space as a learning machine, analogous to the military machine that organises individual bodies to respond together to a command. Power is directly related to the controlled time and how to use it becomes .

The use of the school to create a subordinated relation to the impersonal and external domination of the group has remained unchanged in the hegemonic shape of school. The industrial age only reinforced the logic of instruction to perform simple tasks in total obedience, something that continues to this day. Yet nearly fifty years now separate us from the Glorious Thirty. But the school that was then installed by those in power remains the school that is now installed by those in power. Lately, in European contexts even where mechanised work tends to disappear, whenever traditionalist or more conservative governments come to power, an elitist, segregated school model is reinforced. That school maintains the meritocratic logic associated with mechanical, repetitive, and doubly meaningful instruction. Ironically, the body who is pointing the finger at this state of the school today is precisely the one that initially committed itself to enhance the

generalisation of this American model, after the second war with the Marshall Plan. That was the OECD with its regular recommendations (Niza, 2012a, p. 15).

At the school as an institution of power, the internal power is brought in from the outside, and recalls Lahire (2008, p. 35) takes up the role of superintendent: it is to ensure schoolmasters do not familiarize themselves or become friends with anyone.

To transform people in instruments through teacher instruction has not disappeared in modern times. As Aronowitz and Giroux note:

> "There is also a growing political and ideological tendency, as expressed in current education reform debates, to deprive teachers and students of their cultural histories and experiences, in the name of pedagogical approaches that will make education more instrumental." (1992, p. 150).

In this context, Paraskeva refers to Sacristán when he recalls that *" the curriculum is a text that clarify a project of social reproduction and the production of a desirable society and culture " (2008* , p. 137).

These are phenomena observed in school where actors are in trouble, where authority and autocracy are mixed. These phenomena are examined by Dubet (2002, p. 392) who discusses the difficulties of those who do not understand the meaning of their profession. The author notes that as the profession becomes an impracticable ideal for teachers, the work experience becomes painful. For Dubet, the work must be objective, the worker must be able to say: this is my work, the result of my work. The satisfaction of professional educators stems from their ability to identify with their own work.

Morgado (2010) argues how in a democratic society, through the semantic evolution of the word authority, there is a growing confusion between "authority" and "power" and this confusion is clearly reflected in Foucault's (2009) disciplinary institutions including the school.

Power asserts itself throughout the conditioning of learners as objects of instruction even in the manner they are held in place. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the physical structure of the classroom made difficult the contact with the outside world. The windows had opaque glass or curtains that prevented students from being distracted by what is going on outside (Oliverio, 1986, p. 21). The control exercised over who spends their days in school includes the architectural barriers, which we also find in prisons and hospitals. Lahire (2008, p. 35) reminds us that one of Lasalle's proposals concerns the placement of the windows themselves at what should not be less than two meters from the ground, so that passers-by cannot see into the school.

In the classroom, the arrangement of furniture reflects hierarchical power. The

teacher has a chair that raises him at least two steps (Oliverio, 1986, p. 21) and facilitates supervision of the class. The school benches meet rational criteria and the Gérard model from 1872 ensures the isolation of the students, while also guaranteeing hygiene and morale in the classroom. The seat supports the kidneys and prevents fatigue, but is not high enough to cause laziness.

Foucault associates military discipline with the discipline desired in schools, as a way of obtaining submissive, trained, and docile bodies.

> "The great book of Man-Machine was written simultaneously in two registers: the *anatomy-metaphysics* part are the opening pages which were written by Descartes and continued by the doctors, the philosophers; the other *technical-political* pages consiste in a series of military, school, and hospital regulations and in empirical and deliberative processes for controlling or correcting the operations of the Corps. (2009, p. 132).

In schools for the poor which in a sense are at the root of the mass school, "education" work is carried out. Lahire (2008, p. 38) refers to Vincent when he considers "education" and "pedagogy" as the nouns of a social interaction, "poor" and "child" being negatives of the upbringing, thus wild and primitive. Similarly, Ariés says that the child is seen as a human being in a state of weakness, a natural state that needs to be rectified, which legitimises "corrective" action. Thus, a coercive power is exerted on children to transform them into beings that are no longer in a "natural state". At a time when a large part of society is still illiterate, this transformation is accompanied by the introduction of rules in a mechanical way. They don't need to be understood, they need to be internalised. Learning to read — that is, to decipher only syllables — and learning to write simply by copying fit into this perception of mechanical acquisition, which, the author continues, was typical of the time, but which today would be considered anti-pedagogical.

Ultimately, the mass school that Canário describes as a school of promises in the post-second war period of the last century continues to cultivate the idea that they are the change from a natural or wild stage to a stage of cultural and civic elevation, thereby also bringing in automatic social ascension, in a society in which power has been democratised. The interaction between students in the learning process and the pedagogical, didactic and scientific authority of teachers should live up to this elevation. In many situations this did not happen :

> "In fact, from the very beginning, in the 1960s, extensive studies have highlighted that the production processes of school inequality articulate with the production of social inequality."
>
> (Canário , 2008: 75).

The semantic confusion between authority and power Morgado speaks about, and

which arises from definitions of authority such as, for example, *"a power that is accepted, respected, and recognised as legitimate "* (Sartori ***apud*** Morgado, 2010: 83), begins in democratic society, like in school, precisely because authority is defined as a power and not as an act of enrichment, in the sense of contributing to a specific situation or a particular idea. In other words, as Morgado explains, the concept of authority, which originally stands for advice, the non-observance of which can even be dangerous, has been given the image of binding advice, command. But the authority holds neither the exercise of a right nor of an imposition in sues the author.

In school, the same confusion occurs when the role of the adult educator, the pedagogue, mediator of the learner's interaction with knowledge, is mixed with the role of the adult functionary in charge of children stepping into the world and entering the school world in a rough state to discipline and transform them into trained citizens. When the balance tips to the issuer of disciplinary action and is a model of one-way communication, a transfer mode (Lesne, 1977), a banking model (Freire), a repetitive instruction often is shown. If it goes the other way, a dialectical relationship can rise between adult and child, and, in situations of deliberate division in the exercise of power, a complex group relationship can emerge, giving rise to models of learning in partnership, of cooperative learning.

Those facing the obvious difficulty of reconciling and treating as equals what is different, are easily in temptation to use biology to explain cultural and social phenomena. Sedas Nunes (2005, p. 52) recalls the use of paradigms from different scientific disciplines when making analogies. And he, like Boudon, warns caution is advised: the postulate of an analogy between living beings and societies has led biology to become a paradigm of sociology, even serving as an argument against proposals for more equitable contexts of education and training. Santos Silva (2007, p. 35) similarly remarks that one should be very careful about the effect that images from sociobiology or from social Darwinism on public opinion, to show the inevitability of inequality of all kinds and the futility of strategies for greater justice.

The school in its Lassallian form associates itself with this sociobiology and ensures a double segregation. The first stems from the invention of standardised learning, where knowledge, sliced into subject tranches, is served to the learner at prescribed times. The second arises from the separation of the school socialisation space from other socialisation spaces .

The fragmentation of knowledge, which will be returned to in the next point, contributes to the search for more homogeneous groups and reinforces competitive and meritocratic classification practices, which confuse blind training and instruction with education and learning. Here it is wise to remember the words of Álvarez Méndez (2002, p. 40) when he states that under no circumstances should *"anxiety about*

exams condition anyone much less direct learning" . The classification, in the light of previously established norms, leads to a narrowed view, opening the way to justify the exclusion of those who do not know how to return what is asked of them, within the scheduled times. The exclusionary practice arising from the conditioning through exams and tests that purport to measure the intellectual capacity of those who are standardised, and which themselves reproduce the logic of classification, contains the underlying control of those who exercise power over the other.

The separation of the school space of socialisation from other spaces creates a closed environment, in which power takes in the place of authority, the Roman *auctoritas*, which, Morgado reminds us, constitutes the very quality of the *author*, and which

> "belongs to a person or a group of persons who, though not strictly speaking issuing irrefutable orders, but something closer to a warning or advice, yet can determine the action of those who heed them" (2010, p. 83).

In the institution of modern society, the principal in the school and the teacher in the classroom play the role of agent of authority. They are Weber's rational-legal authority and as such represent the nation-state, often creating a school with a standardised culture that does not match the mosaic of cultures represented by people present in the school.

In extreme situations, while advocating schools for all, it is even considered unnecessary for everyone to attend a general primary school, as Oliveira (1986, p. 25) recalls with Rousseau's words that one should not instruct the farmer's son because it is not convenient for him to be instructed.

The school itself is subject to selective pressure, which means that parallel paths are developed even in those regimes that call themselves democratic, in some cases from the time the children are less than 11 years old. Andreas Schleisser has shown how this goes against equity policy, from the observatory he directs at the OECD, where he is responsible for the *Program for International Student Assessment (PISA)*. Data collected through PISA associates higher literacy levels with more equitable education systems, regardless of models and methods used to promote them.

The diversity and heterogeneity of a population, and consequently of a school population, is an obstacle to work programs that follow the logic of modelling a creature in its raw state. Even when those in power recognise the obvious, that is, when diversity is established, those who install school are also trying to standardise that diversity while at the same time excluding practices that result from this standardisation.

Aronowitz and Giroux (1992, p. 154) recall that for Gramsci all human beings are

intellectuals insofar as they think, mediate and have a specific vision of the world. The point is that varying degrees of critical thinking and common sense characterise what it means to be human. The meaning of this perspective assigns to the pedagogical activity an eminently political quality, requiring decisions that protect the child from the abuse of homogenising and discriminatory tests, as still happens in determining the intellectual quotient that is meant to be scientific. In the same vein, the pedagogical activity underlying the school shape should take into account the history of a person or a context:

> "Every learning situation a child faces at school always has a history. For example, children start math in school, but long before they have some experience with quantities, they have to deal with operations such as division, addition, subtraction and determining the size. Consequently, children have their own preschool arithmetic, which only myopic psychologists can ignore." (Vygotsky [1932], transl. 2007b, p. 94).

The subject-breaking into packages that allows control through tests and examinations, in the context of school activity, exists not only for the knowledge that has become school knowledge, but also for relationships and social coexistence. Wrapping up the social relations that were included in the Portuguese curriculum as a subject matter prompted Sérgio Niza in 2002 to express his concern about what was established in the curriculum during school hours:

> "A time scheduled for Civil Education is likely to be a disservice if it is not instituted with the aim of promoting democratic relations between teachers and students. If the social studies hour turns into a class of topics to discuss with the students (because that is the temptation of teachers), then it is effectively a disservice." (2012, p. 433).

In situating the school and its form today, Vincent *et al.* (1994, pp. 39-45) also point out on the excessive concern to create a specific universe, separate from the world, designed for children, where rules and social relations become subjects to be trained, practiced and tested according to the rules in the school context. The authors attribute the excessive weight of school and education in our social education to the role that classifications, judgments and school perceptions play outside of school hours. As we will see, homework that is not present in the work proposal of the teachers of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda is* more than once a subject of analysis, and there is some surprise among the testimonies that the school had a course of action in this regard which was very different from the school friends visited.

The predominance of the school shape over other ways of socialisation causes situations in society to become social problems read according to criteria the school uses for interpretation. Vincent *et al.* (1994, p. 40) illustrate this with illitera-

cy. As the authors argue, the school played a decisive role in the social construction of the phenomenon. Another example is the excessive weight placed on the school interpretation of what learning is and the effort involved. In many situations, it has led to the parents of school-going children filling in their free time with activities that all show characteristics of a school activity.

The weight given to the school means that all socialisation processes, including adult socialisation, are considered processes involving courses of school character. Parents are to be educated, their ability to father or mother may be subject to certification. The school shape of social organisation in which everything can be learned through courses produces a training industry that is very attractive to those who invest in it and push for the privatisation of education. Sélys and Hirtt (2003, p. 59) found with data from 1998 that the privatisation of state education in OECD countries opened up an education market worth 80% of the then car market. Economic power groups, such as the European Round Table, have relentlessly defended this privatised education and even led to the white paper on lifelong learning.

The generalisation of school shapes of social relations based on transmission and normative schooling hostage other shapes of social relations when it comes to replacing learning with teaching, sold through courses, workshops, seminars, adult education, manuals and techniques for levelling skills in special and recovery classes for those who didn't go on the first time. The school itself has been held hostage by those who have power over it and represent that same power within it.

The description of the school is therefore in many cases the description of the hegemonic school shape and the power relationship engrained in it. It is a shape crystallised into ex-temporal, hierarchical and prescribed practices, but which facilitated control over the 'market'. It is the shape that coincides with the grammar of schooling as formulated by Tyack and Tobin (1994) that obscures the other school shapes, referred to as 'alternatives' to school.

It is about the so-called democratising school but with this Lassallian school shape what makes Van Haecht conclude :

> "Following the great projects of the democratising school, with the transition from the theme of the democratisation of culture to the weakest cultural democracies affirming the priority for personal development, adaptation to the cultural and psychological diversity of individuals over social promotion by the school, after denouncing the temptation to let the inequalities and hierarchy of capacities disappear at some levels, is the result of a long historical path in which the school institution finds itself strongly invited to clearly redefine its expectations and principles of valuation." (1994, p. 117).

Relationship with knowledge

Bourdieu's sociology of reproduction correlates the social position of the parents with the position in the academic results of the children. Charlot warns that this is exactly what it is: a correlation, not a cause and effect situation, as it is tempting for some commentators to use this to explain dropout rates. But those who have never been to school don't drop out, Illich noted with some humor. Currently, school failure is explained not only by the social position of parents, but also by ethnic origin, family culture (whoever uses this explanation refers to any culture other than their own), the economic situation or, more generally, the status of an underprivileged child. It is here Charlot (1997, p. 26) warns the greatest caution is required. In a country where tap water is only available to a part of the urban population, close to the school, it is easy to establish a correlation between living in a house with a bathroom and learning to read and write in a one year's time. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that taking a bath has a beneficial effect on learning to read, he says ironically.

Sociologies of reproduction reason in terms of differences and position. We heard Charlot (1997, p. 27) warn how those terms, when misinterpreted, lead to mistranslation of *position* putted on a scale as *situation of origin* or *failure.* The author continues the terms are subject to a second offensive interpretation when the difference is seen as a socio-cultural *handicap*. As we will see later, in educational contexts the meaning of *handicap* has moved away from the original meaning of the word.

Martuccelli (2000, p. 302) recalls that for educational sociologists, the school is a place reflecting the distribution of power in society. But in its hegemonic shape it does more than that. In society there are different cultures, but the school values one of them, the culture that, as school itself does, prefers abstract knowledge to the knowledge related to what the learners know based on their cultural experience. From there to normalisation towards privileged culture, the step is small. The author recalls the frequent remarks such as about 'good music' contrasting with the music of the 'natural' environment of children from the popular classes. In short, Martuccelli argues that the school appropriates the culture of the dominant class, hides the social nature of that culture, and through devaluation denies the culture of other social groups. For the author, the supposed social neutrality of the school shape of social relations, criticised by Vincent, systematises knowledge into a set of knowledge, capturing the impersonal rules already discussed here. He argues that this is not the exclusive property of a social group, but recalls he shows that the school is not only the place of strict regulation, but also of drill into submission. The shape shows that the school is an institution for the normali-

sation and adaptation of individuals through a multitude of exercises, awards and examinations. It's not enough to announce the bankruptcy of the citizens' factory to make it disappear. As mentioned by Dubet (2002, p. 108), once children are grouped into classes they have to be instructed. The conversation with the teachers shows that everyone continues to do what they always did and that procedures are repeated. By observing what happens during teacher councils, the author finds that the methodologies he calls more traditional are still seen as the core of practice, while innovation happens on the fringes.

The school factory of citizens remains as remains the assembly line. On that children emerge as raw material and go through the chain in which successively pieces are presented to them. Regarded as depots, knowledge after knowledge is deposited in their heads by teachers in chunks according to a pre-programmed strategy. We find there Lesne's the pedagogy of the model and the deviation from the model (1977) with its exclusive evaluative logic in society that claims to take care of everyone's education.

An analysis of primary school experience stories collected by university students (Paulus, 2010) shows the normative relationships with knowledge, in a reality of instruction given and verified by teachers, which give rise to a sense of self-inferiority, which corresponds to testimonials reported by Charlot (1997, p. 80 *es*). This author argues that the subject only rises when taking possession of the world (1997, p. 67) and points out that the appropriation of the world is based on actual learning while learning leading to the mastery of objects, both of which must be related to the environment, requires a language-specific approach (Charlot *et al*, 1992).

Formatted product or relational device?

Foucault draws us in *Surveiller et Punir* a school reality beginning in the seventeenth-century French school, where learning, including what is related to social behaviour considered adequate, is in the hegemonic shape of school the product of successful instruction, mechanically exerted on children, in a "crude" state, recruited to be formed and formatted. This formatting consists of specific steps. Lahire (2008, p. 36) finds seven stages for learning to read in Démia, nine in La Salle's proposal.

The author reminds that for La Salle, these stages consist of learning the alphabet card, the syllable card, the syllable, the first book, the second book (for those who can spell), the third book (for those who can read slowly), the book of psalms, '*politeness*' and finally the handwritten texts. One starts in Latin, before one switch to French. In general, students learn to write after they have learned to read and they do so by imitating models. Finally, without a model, they will produce the same type

of writing they trained in the previous stage .

The small schools in Port-Royal were, in a sense, the first child-friendly schools, deliberately simplifying reading and grammar methods. The native language became the working language and object of study. That is to say, more important than the transition from Latin to French, it was the mother tongue itself that becomes an object of learning and reflection according to school methods (Lahire, 2008, p. 33).

Tadeu da Silva (2009, p. 93) watches to the school curriculum of the twentieth century in schools in very structured societies and considers it as disciplinary, segmented, with strict separation between '*high*' culture and '*low*' culture, scientific knowledge and knowledge of everyday life. The author reminds to take a critical look at not only the curriculum in a postmodern perspective, but also to the critical theory of curriculum and education. He distrusts the emancipatory impulses of critical pedagogy and claims the beginnings of post-critical pedagogy. He recalls Foucault's important post-structuralist contribution when he understands power not as something one possesses, but as a relationship. For Foucault, power and knowledge are interdependent. It obliges, continues Tadeu da Silva, not to regard the subject as an identity (Descartes), because *" there is no subject except as a simple and pure result of a process of cultural and social production "* (2000, p. 96) .

In the same vein, Charlot (1997, p. 67) argues that the subject only arises when he takes possession of the world. The appropriation of the world involves actual learning and learning leads the subject to master objects. But not only that; they must be related to the environment. As already mentioned here, for Charlot there is no knowledge if there is no connection, interaction, with knowledge. He identifies three characteristics for relation with knowledge (1997, pp. 80-88).

The first relation is *epistemic*. It is a matter of 'putting things in the head', acquiring a virtual knowledge, a knowledge of the Self, not as a thinking being, but as woven into the situation: learning to write, to swim, to operate a device. The second relation is *identity.* Learning has a meaning, inscribed in the subject's history. School success will have a powerful safety effect, school failure will wreak havoc on the relationship with oneself. The identity relation with knowledge makes it possible to be part of a community that also has knowledge and an appropriation of this knowledge, which makes the subject feel intelligent. The third relation, connection or interaction is *social*. A subject, actor, human being, social and singular, does not belong to an environment, but is related to it. In this environment, in this world, there are structures, systems, situations of inequality. The nature of the social relation with knowledge differs from the first two. It's not *another* relation, a relation *more*, it is the contribution to shape epistemic and identity relations.

The connection or interaction with knowledge, which enables 'self-construction' as an actor in relation to the world, is therefore not only a work in the first person. It is the work of a first person, weaving a complex network of relations with others, people and systems, with the world. This work, which resembles the work of a craftsman, is not possible, neither in the school factory nor in the barracks school, if the teacher does not reinterpret the power delegated to him. In the barracks school, in ordinary circumstances, work is not done on the basis of cooperation with others, simply because the other is not considered by those who represent power, determine the school policy, the curriculum used and designate who will apply it.

The relation to knowledge, proposed and theorised by Charlot, inserts itself from a school shape of social relations that has a pedagogical premise based not on instruction, but on mediation. This mediation is possible. We see how, if we consider the relations Houssaye (2004, p. 38) weaves into the triangle he establishes between teacher, student, and knowledge. The author considers the pedagogical processes arising from the relation between two of the three vertices of the triangle and combines this interaction with the third vertex. He associates the 'learning' process with a student-knowledge relation, in which the teacher is the catalyst for this process, in contrast to the 'teaching' process, which arises from the teacher-knowledge relation and in which the student is the object of that relation. The third process of 'training' in the sense of modelling is based on the teacher-student relation, in which knowledge becomes the object of that same relation.
Seen in this light, the school arising from the hegemonic shape of school is not a pedagogical school, but a place of teaching.

When Charlot (1997, p. 20) recounts the correlations Bourdieu has observed between the social position of the parents and the position in the school results of the children, he speaks of the sociology of difference, questioning whether it is possible to go beyond correlations, homologies and the conversion of systems, to ask whether these can explain why certain students do not work in school, do not learn and do not understand what they are told.

He is accompanied in this by Sérgio Niza (2000, p. 40) who refers to Mortimore's research to which Ainscow alludes when showing that the efficiency or inefficiency of a school affects all students attending the same school. There has been a change in thinking that shifts explanations of the failure of people's education to the schooling process itself.

The idea of change is clearly reflected in the research that takes the school as a study object and that emerges in studies such as *Learning a living: a blueprint for high performance. A scan report for America 2000* (1992). Although this concerns are disseminated by foundations like the Pearson Foundation, they are certainly not

those of many democratically elected governments, in highly schooled countries that, through meritocratic processes, devalue holistic approaches, place identities and social relations outside the action of the school organisation, treat them as by-products that do not stem from the expressed desire of most of the actors in the pedagogical action. Hierarchical rulers continue to believe, as Vygotsky pointed out in 1932,

> "that we can determine through tests what level of mental development the educational process should be based on and the limits of which should not be crossed. This procedure orients learning to yesterday's development, to the stages of development already completed." (2007b, p. 101).

However, educators continue to persevere and consider school dropout as a phenomenon of failure of the hegemonic school shape, not due to children or their families, and emphasise that there are variants in the school shape of social relations that clarify the created misunderstanding.

The meaning of school situations

The idea of serial production of programmed citizens remains the norm, in the mass school with a centralised curriculum and a school shape that makes heavy use of transfer instruction. The person's own will is overshadowed in the school that insists on viewing that person as an object to be modeled. A different raw material is a nuisance for an order. It is tried to show that the failure is at the origin, but that is nothing more than a fantasy (Charlot, 1997, p. 31). The deviant, weak student results from the ideological interests of teachers. Charlot observes with some irony that horse racing requires the imposition of a handicap on those who had advantages, such as a late start. In education, the "handicap" identifies who is at a disadvantage regarding the norm. Based on little more than a belief, the socio-cultural '*handicap' was* invented.
Charlot (1997, p. 35) argues that the student is first and foremost a child. As a child, it is a subject: a human being, a social being, a singular being.

Because the child is human, it is the bearer of desires. These desires urge activity, creation, learning. Institutional pedagogy (Oury, Vasquez, 1967) pays particular attention to desire as an engine of learning. The suppression of desire by the barracks school (Oury) establishes school positions which activate selection mechanisms. Even those selected by the system do not deny it as evidenced by university student reports (Paulus, 2010).

Because the child is social, it seeks for social interactions. In the Western context, where children are highly institutionalised, these social interactions take place during many of the active hours on school grounds, with adults and with other

children and young people. A school with impersonal and bureaucratic rules pushes interactions between people away to non-school time and ritualises them during school time between those taking on prescribed roles. Teachers take part of these hours to teach the students the recipe, while the children, not yet or no longer students, try to escape from this recipe.

Because the child is unique, it tries to produce itself as an artisan little by little, in accordance with the desire to learn and to interact with the environment. It is a unique process, recognisable in every child. Like any healthy child, it will learn to speak the *lingua franca* of the social context it relates to, but there is no standardised process for the order in which new words are added to the vocabulary. It builds up the grammatical and syntactic aptitude, according to a flexible process, also depending on interactions with the world in which it operates. When we observe groups of children, we see possible patterns, similarities in learning processes. Hence, as with a magic trick, the school turned the situation around. The pattern was standardised and when this became widespread, the school began to view any child who did not follow this pattern as deviating from the standard.

The school stipulates for example that the acquisition of reading, unlike the acquisition of speech, must obey a predetermined pattern in which the letters, syllables, and phonemes appear in a predetermined order, in order to be deposited in children's minds. Those who are not moving forward, those who are late or ahead need support, incentives, reinforcements or delays. This is a common sense dogma, among many educators as agents of the institution, even if, when they fall back on their normal human, social and singular condition, they recognise from their experience how children learn with each other and the adult despite and beyond ritualised school norms.

Lahire (2008, p. 47) explains that with the school shape designed from the seventeenth century and which allows serial instruction global learning is replaced by learning through exercises that maintain an analytic decomposition and a hierarchy from simple to complex.

Foucault alludes to the Lancaster model, a method very similar to that practiced in the mutual schools of the early nineteenth century, whereby students who have learned their lesson, under the supervision of the teacher, will teach others what they have learned. What has come to be known as *peer training* is by no means a task resulting from cooperative planning, but from meticulous planning by the teacher, who also accurately measures what is passed on to the student, to be passed on by the student.

Classes consisting of age groups and with one teacher per age group have been common since the early nineteenth century and up to the twentieth century in pri-

mary school. In this industrial age, education is still recognised, in the words of Touraine (1996, p. 169), as a means of transmitting a certain cultural heritage and as a mechanism for adapting people to the changes in society and the professions.

For this education which Touraine defines as archaic and imprinting of dominant norms, I have hitherto considered the expression "school shape" as "hegemonic school shape of social relations" and therefore one of the possible school shapes of social relations, different from other school shapes of social relations wherein the interlocutors in a class become the authors of the process. As Rui Canário (2008, p. 79) argues, the teacher can be an author, but he will only be one if he orients his work in such a way that the students can be too.

With the generalisation of the school, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, we see how the discussion about school shapes of social relations produced in it was definitively started.

Piaget (2007, p. 383) notes that the school neglects the benefit it can derive from children's spontaneous development and often works against that development rather than enhancing it. This statement is in line with an idea of Vygotsky:

> "it is the teacher's job to develop not one single mind power, but many specific ways of thinking in different areas; not to strengthen our general capacity of attention, but to develop different powers to focus attention on different subjects" (1977: 38).

We find in Vygotsky's thought an explanatory meaning for the deed of learning under a school shape of social relations. Cole and Scribner (2007, p. xxiv) recall he was the first modern psychologist, influenced by French sociologists of the time, to suggest the mechanisms by which culture becomes part of each person. Vygotsky was also one of the first to associate cognitive psychology with neurology and physiology.

Emphasising the social origins of language is a key element so that, in the context of the classroom, the "pedagogization" of the learning act makes the world more understandable for children if they are co-authors of this process. In this sense, Lahire believes that the thesis of activity domains and the pedagogization of social learning relationships make it possible to build a more reflexive, even more theoretical, relationship with the world (2008, p. 47).

Understanding the world requires a new understanding of the school both by the teacher and the students. Hess (1975, p. 50) recalls that Fernand Oury, a teacher in the French "*classes de perfectionnement*" not emphasised by accident the therapeutic dimension of the pedagogy he presented and theorised in 1967 under the name of institutional pedagogy.

Touraine writes it is possible to define the limits of the school's inability to change social inequalities, which would lead to the inference that teachers or educators could never really be actors. He points to the studies (Girod and Foucambert) that emphasise inequalities that existed from the beginning are partly reinforced by the school system. He argues the impersonal responsibility of the system should be replaced by the collective and individual responsibility of the teachers:

> " Anything that can limit the school shape in favor of active learning, where the child is not just a learner but an individual recognised in the plurality of its social roles (even in the place he occupies in the classroom), contributes to reducing inequality of opportunity " (1996: 109).

Wide-spreading the discussion around the school shape of learning and the school shapes of social relations, it is becoming clear that the hegemonic school shape is nothing more than that: a singular school shape among other singular forms. Those singular shapes emerge as soon as there is on the meso- and micro-level a coherent approach to the relationship with power and the interaction with knowledge, creating a specific relationship with language and the world. Lahire (2008, p. 148) notes that the fright that when studying the school shape of social relations the institution would miss out and circumvent the problem of social differences or the relationship of different social classes in relation to the school was unfounded. On the contrary: once the specificity of the school shape is studied, it is again possible to question the relationship of different ethnic groups or classes with the school.

The necessary questioning of the school specific to its shape includes the discussion of social relations, that is, it implies the discussion of the pedagogical relationship and the role that pedagogy has in that same discussion. When discussing other educational proposals and the role of critical intellectuals in them, Aronowitz and Giroux (1992: 160) return to Sartre's warning that only an engaged intellectual can take up positions that serve human emancipation.

In other words, critical intellectuals must not forget that emancipation cannot simply be given from the outside. Likewise, teachers should not forget that their profession is an intellectual one not having the right to submit others to the culture of the ruling class only by using their appointment as a representative of the legitimate power of the state as an alibi. As an intellectual they make a conscious choice about the shape of social relationships they want to develop with the children they will work with, the relationship they personally establish with power, and how they determine the work with the children that will affect the relationship to knowledge.

2 subject-objects, -actors or -authors at school

In the first chapter I outlined the schooled society and the place of the school in it. To situate it I have used the analytical distinction between the dimensions *institution*, *organisation* and *shape* as suggested by Rui Canário (2005, p. 61). By isolating this last dimension and going back to the theory of the school shape (Vincent *et al.,* 1994), it was possible to understand the school shape, a term when *used in the singular* point out to a well-defined way of socialisation and learning. I perceive this shape is composed of variants. Then, those school shapes of social relations with the term *used in the plural* emerge from the specific context of a school or a class, sometimes with subject-objects, sometimes with subject-actors or with subject-actors and subject-authors. It is this plurality that suggests the *continuum* of school shapes[1]. On the following pages I sketch this *continuum* from one pole to the other in a first panorama. To make it easier to place singular school shapes in and between the two poles, I propose three large synchronous groups or "families" of school shapes of social relations, with some variants making connection links. The first of these three 'families' groups together the shapes which I termed generically Lassallian and which, as noted in the first chapter, is the hegemonic family, thus most critique regarding school shape is aimed specifically at that family.

In order to trace the *continuum* of school shapes going from social relations with subject-objects at one pole towards the forms of social relations between subject-authors at the other, I considered three factors of variation: the relation to power, the relation to knowledge and the underlying pedagogical paradigm. These factors are addressed in each of the points developed in this chapter. Each of the three factors, independently, considers its own and continuous line of variations. The merging of certain sections of each of the three lineages, recognisable in singular school shapes, briefly referred to in the elaboration of this chapter, supports the suggestion of three large groups of school shapes of social relations.

The first variation factor is situated in the area of the experiences of the relation with power, one of the characteristics of the school shape, according to Vincent *et al.* (1994)[2]. At one of the poles of the *continuum* we find forms of hierarchical relations with subjects who have to obey rules that come from outside and are imposed on them[3]. We find that hierarchy in the Lassallian precepts, or in the barracks school described by Pain and Oury (1972). At the other pole, in the microcosm of

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1 See above, page 14

2 See above, page 47 *Five Characteristics of Scriptural School Shapes of Social Relations* .

3 See above, page 54 *School and power relations*

the classroom, we find the approximation of a horizontal relationship with power where students and teachers negotiate the organisation of space and time, where they draw up their work project in accordance with the prescribed curriculum.

The second factor of variation in the characterisation used is related to the relation or interaction with knowledge. On the one hand, we find a relation to knowledge that amounts to what Charlot (1997) characterised as epistemic. Here one learns first through instruction to produce later, in a universe closed to other social learning practices. At the other pole we find a dialectical relation, a social interaction with knowledge that, according to Charlot (1997, p. 87), contributes for connection with epistemic relation and identity relation with knowledge.

For the third factor of variation, I remember Rui Canário (2005, p. 62) matching the dimension shape with pedagogy, which justifies the pedagogical content of the current chapter. This includes the description of variations in the pedagogical relationship that result from different models of relationship between teaching professionals and learners, systematised by Trindade and Cosme (2010) in three pedagogical paradigms: instructional paradigm, learning paradigm and communication paradigm. I will use these paradigms as support for the three groups of school shapes of social relations, with no clear boundaries between each group.

I emphasise again it seems possible to find invariants for each of the three "families" of school shapes, both in terms of each associated pedagogical paradigm, and in terms of the relationship with power and in terms of the relationship with knowledge.

This chapter goes through the *continuum* in five points. The first four contextualise the two poles and the central zone of the *continuum*, while the last deals with the morphological dialogue that enables the permanence of any school shape of social relations.

The first point *The hegemonic shape* resumes the description of the school shape which corresponds to the one generally implemented by those in hierarchy who represent the power in the institution, and as I mentioned earlier I called the hegemonic shape. This shape which is common in educational institutions with relatively standardised ways of organising fits the widespread public belief described by Tyack and Tobin (1994, p. 456) about what constitutes the 'real school'. Its characteristics, previously discussed in *School and power relations* and *Relationship with knowledge* are summarised here. These are supplemented with information about the pedagogical instruction paradigm of that school shape which I called Lassallian and which best supports the most expressive variety of the group of school shapes of social relations where action is centred on the teacher. Critics of this form focus on the making pupil of the child and functionary of the educator.

These critiques are summarised here, based on the reflections of several pedagogues, including Paulo Freire, Fernand Oury and Sérgio Niza.

The second point *Subject-object or subject-actor* focuses on the central group of school shapes of social relations. In this group in many cases social relations maintain a clear hierarchy of power, although adults are concerned about how to understand the state of cognitive development in which learners find themselves, so the variation regarding to the pedagogical paradigm often follows the boundary between the instructional paradigm and the learning paradigm. In this second paradigm emerge classroom practices that welcome work proposals which have been identified as child-oriented and social-oriented by Altet (1999). They were mainly worked out by pedagogues at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. They deviate from what Altet calls teacher-oriented pedagogy, which can be associated with the pedagogical instruction paradigm.

The next two points deal with the 'family' of school shapes in which the school shape of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is integrated. They zoom in on the proposal of institutional pedagogy and of the Modern School Movement of Portugal (MEM), both of which according to Trindade and Cosme (2010, p. 58 and p. 156) have as reference the communication paradigm. There are similarities and differences between the two proposals, not only in practice, but also in how they evolve and stimulate dialogue within the community of practicing educators regarding the relationship with power. In the period the case of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* presented below refers to the proposals of the MEM, more than those of the institutional pedagogy, had already taken on a socio-cultural and socio-historical character.
The third point *Power and knowledge in the cooperative classroom* deals with what the two proposals have most in common and describes the main ideas of institutional pedagogy, enriched by the contributions of the MEM. The text explains the functions of the cooperative council which brings children and adults together around the organisation of space and time in and during which they work together. This point also describes how the learning group, guided by the teacher, manages and interprets the curriculum. In this microcosm, where the teacher reinterprets his role and the power delegated to him, the interaction between everyone and in relation to knowledge will suggest social learning relationships that influence the school shape itself. Participation guarantees a good perception of each person's knowledge, which makes learning itself effective, that is, as Vygotsky puts it:

> " The learning act aimed at already achieved developmental levels is not effective from the point of view of the overall development of the child. It is not moving towards the new phase of the development process, but is lagging behind that process. Thus, the concept of zone of proximal development allows us to

> propose a new formula that *good learning* is only what promotes development" (2007, p. 102).

The fourth point of this chapter *The modern school movement and the school to read the world* focuses on the institutional character of the work projects through the Cooperative Council the MEM incorporates in the syntax of its work proposal. It also associates the horizontal interpretation of the exercise of power with regard to the organisation of the instituted space-time of learning with the interpretation of the world based on socio-historical theories, through which students, guided by their teachers, initiate a production process of authentic cultural works (Serralha, 2009). The two points together contextualise the pool of school shapes of social relations between subject-actors and subject-authors.

The final point titled *Discussions and Morphological Suggestions* closes this chapter and invites to dialogue and discussion beyond simple criticism. It deals with the debate surrounding school shapes of social relations, which have been profiled since the time when large-scale education and literacy projects were developed, and since the modernisation of the printing press made reading and writing a potentially emancipatory tool.

The characterisation of the *continuum* of school shapes of social relations, from one pole to the other, will be useful in situating the singular school shape of social relations in the case of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, by making explicit the variations we observe in the relationship with power, in the interaction to knowledge and in the pedagogical paradigm that supports the work project. At the same time, it introduces the necessary elements for a broader interpretation of Tyack and Tobin's (1994) grammar of schooling, a grammar that combines aspects of both the dimension of organisation and shape that defines the school[4].

The hegemonic shape

This first point is divided into two topics. The first subpoint *social relations with subject-objects* briefly recapitulates the elements that make up the group of school shapes of social relations with subject-objects. Because it is the most common shape of school in the educated world, it came up in the last two points of the previous chapter. Whenever the focus of the analysis is related to the relation to power and the relation to knowledge, and precisely because of the ubiquity of this group of shapes of social relations in school, it is the group that is most frequently used in studies and in analyses related to the school. *Power and objectification of*

[4] See page 32 for João Barroso's summary of this grammar in its basic form. I will return in more detail to Tyack and Tobin's suggestions at the end of this book.

the learner deals with a series of critiques that illustrate this and encourage reflection around the variants of the school shape of learning, reinforcing the dialogue with as reference the hypothesis of a *continuum* of school shapes of relations social media went all over the text.

Social relations with subject-objects

The family of school shapes of social relations with subject-object is characterised by a hierarchical relation with power and by the pedagogical paradigm of instruction (Trindade and Cosme, 2010) with a teacher-centred model (Altet, 1999). Using the variants of this group of school shapes, teachers resort to rituals of organisation of pupils (in Portuguese *aluno* – from Latin alumnus, the nourished baby, in Roman society, often enslaved by those who took the baby into the family, metaphorically the intellectually nourished) depending of them and information transfer by the concatenation of information packets of increasing difficulty. These rituals go back to La Salle's proposals, which is why I have called this family of school shapes the Lassallian school shape.
At the same time, Démia's models of instruction, in a specific school environment for poor children and orphans , or the organisation of subjects taught in the small schools of Port-Royal, suggest practices not very different from how classes are currently organised[5].

In this family of social relations with subject-object, today the curriculum somewhat supersedes the Lassallian precepts regarding the content to be taught and the manner of doing it, because of the normative interpretation made of it. The *alumni* are subject to the curriculum, through tests or examinations that continuously establish the deviation between what was intended and what has been achieved (Lesne, 1977). The capacity to appropriate what the teacher conveys is the learner's business and when this appropriation does not take place it is often explained with the characterisation of the learner or group of learners. It is not surprising that among the teacher comments collected by Pain and Oury in the metropolitan Paris in the 1950s and 1960s, we find statements of the nature *"the little blacks and the Portuguese are really lazy by nature, aren't they... "* (1972, p. 9).

But the Lassallian school shape is not limited to organising knowledge in lesson packs and students in function of these packs. It also ensures that children discipline their bodies because a well-disciplined body performs its tasks with a minimum of waste. An example of this is the advice regarding the rituals to be followed for good calligraphy:

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[5] See above, p. 65.

> "[One should] keep the body straight, a little twisted and loose on the left side, leaning slightly forward in doing so, so that, resting the elbow on the table, the chin can rest on the hand, unless the field of vision does not permit late; the left leg should be slightly further forward than the right, under the table, not only because writing is faster then, but nothing is more injurious to health than getting into the habit of leaning your stomach against the table; lower part of the left arm from the elbow to the hand should be placed on the table. The right arm should be about three fingers away from the body and about five fingers protrude from the table on which that arm rests lightly. The master will teach the students the posture which they must adopt when writing and correct them , with or without gestures, when they deviate from this."
>
> (La Salle *apud* Foucault, 2009: 147)

Among the rituals of the school, considered essential for the future integration of children in society, the use of time occupies a central place. Foucault describes the management of time in educational and relief institutions where a regularity is imposed that recalls the organisation of prayers in nearby monasteries. Throughout the nineteenth century, time becomes increasingly sophisticated and fragmented, under the influence of the subjects. Rules in schools that train future workers and regulations in factories organise time and space similarly.

Discipline includes the demand for obedience and compliance with commands given, without margin to question them. Paulo Freire, in one of the *letters to Cristina*, composed posthumously and edited by Ana Maria Freire, recalls *"the lack of democratic experience we grew up in"* (2002, p. 202), noting this is the most common scenario for almost all educated children: they did not experience democracy in school, but the obligation of undeclared obedience, through phrases such as *'do you know who you are talking to?'* or *'I already told you, we shouldn't talk about this anymore'*. It is about a relationship with power, not authority, two concepts that are often confused in hegemonic schools. And for Paulo Freire (2002), the intended authority lies in the hands of the teacher who does not reject this authority, but thereby rejects the freedom of the learners.

When authority is confused with the exercise of power, this leads to authoritarianism and a regime of disciplinary power is created. Foucault (2009, p. 176) argues that in this regime the art of punishment is not aimed at expiation or repression. The purpose of the punishment is to compare acts, transactions and singular behaviour with a number of models, which clarifies the differentiation and indicates the rule to follow .

The differentiation discussed here should, through comparison and hierarchy, promote the normalising ways of acting. Hierarchical punishment, Foucault continues, divides pupils according to the use that can be made of them when they

leave school. It's about applying constant pressure so that eventually everyone becomes equal when it comes to understanding rules.

However, the SCANS report (1992)[6], which analysed the education policy of the Reagan administration, found that this type of differentiation, applied to primary school, leads, contrary to expectations, to poorer graduation rates, which also affects the current society and labor market as necessary competences that are not included in the curriculum are neglected. In addition, the PISA reports (OECD, 2005 and 2010) on the literacy of 15-year-old students studies show that differentiation increases the equity of achieving levels of literacy among a learner population of a country, but only when that differentiation goes hand in hand with careful interaction between people and with heterogeneous school contexts.

It is claimed that the mass school is the result of the democratisation of society. In this democratic context, critique directed to school is understood as critique directed to the elite who wield power, who in turn accuse critics of *politicising education*. This is what Paulo Freire responded to at a meeting organised by UNESCO:

> "They denied me the status of an educator. But they did not to themselves obviously. They criticised me for what they considered to be my overly politicisation. However, they did not realise that by denying me the educator status because I was too political, they were just as political as I was , but from a position opposite to mine. They were not neutral and that neither could they be."
>
> (Freire, 2006: 9).

In fact, the Lassallian school shape that the elites present to us as representatives of the emerging bourgeoisie in the nation-states is the result of their political instructional project, since the massification of schooling occurs and as soon as the school is incorporated into the group of disciplining institutions. For Georges Snyders (1975), the Marxist analysis of the school makes it clear that it is always linked to politics, in the sense that it is linked to the political apparatus, and therefore to the fundamental structures of the great means of production:

> "The bourgeoisie does not recognise this, is unable to recognise it. In fact, the apolitical nature of teaching, the proclamation of a school outside politics, is nothing but hypocrisy designed to mislead the masses" (1975, p. 362).

The author believes school is no longer the "property" of those in power and has become a place of consciousness, something that disturbs the ruling class. The bourgeoisie was placed in a defensive position. Snyders (1975) recalls that the most conservative bourgeoisie ever had undisputed authority over the school and that it could use it as it saw fit, namely to spread, as Jean Jaurés put it, a message

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[6] See also supra, p. 40.

of narrow patriotism, low and full of hatred.

Whoever is in power needed and needs only minimally educated people, so that government is accepted not by royal or divine power but by imposed rules. To this end a school shape of social relations with subjects-objects is developed which conditions the subjects to accept the instituted power. At the beginning of the twentieth century, John Dewey puts it this way:

> "Democracy's commitment to education is a given. The apparent explanation is that a government based on popular suffrage cannot succeed if those who elect it and obey it are not educated." (2007: 88)

Dewey portrays the development of public education at the time and reports on Pestalozzi's work. He recognised that any effective conquest of the new educational ideal required the establishment of public schools. Subsequently, argues Dewey (2009, p . 93), in oficial schools in Europe and under the influence of German thought, there was a shift from humanistic education to the education of citizens: the state takes the place of humanity and cosmopolitanism loses ground in favour of nationalism. Instead of forming the Human, the aim is now to form the Citizen.

The school shape of the learning act became the predominant education model and among the variants of the school shapes of social relations that appeared in the early nineteenth to twentieth centuries, the Lassallian form became all-predominant. Today, in highly educated societies, hierarchical control over children's education is maintained which for Rui Canário (2008, p. 77) is yet another corollary of Giddens' paradox of democracy: on the precise moment when the democratic regime expanded around the world, the school shape was disappointing when it came to strengthening democratic relations.

The education of the citizen through a school shape of social relations, based on a scientific organisation of the learning act underlaying the rules and norms of society and work, leads to forced or coerced 'disciplining' of knowledge and consequently to its fragmentation subject parcels. Scientifically organised instruction is directed to groups of individuals who are determined to be equal, according to criteria of age or completed curriculum of fragmented knowledge. So-called homogeneous groups of pupils penalize those who do not fit the profile established for their age group. Only the existence of homogeneous groups of individuals gives rise to cataloging singular individuals as "deviant", "sick", "crazy" or simply "inappropriate".

To critique the school shape usually consists in critique of the hegemonic variety, which critics say benefits the ruling elite but not the general population. Dewey said that, unlike a society that is divided into classes which pays attention only to the education of its leaders, a mobile society must take care of the education of all its members. This generalised education seems difficult to achieve using this family of

school shapes of social relations. Indeed, many individuals were overwhelmed by changes whose meaning and relationships they did not understand. The result seems to be, as Dewey (2007, p. 89) expected, *"a confusion in which few have appropriated to themselves the results of the unconscious and externally driven activities of others"*

The school shape of social relations with subject-objects places the learner in the role of passive receiver. He is trained and disciplined so that he becomes a citizen of the nation-state in which he was born and from which he is educated through school. Instruction and 'disciplining' oblige children to submit to social relationships within the scope of the school, the rules of which are set by others, with procedures the meaning of which is unattainable to them. The rules also extend beyond adults acting in their role as instructors.

Power and objectification of the learner

The obedient learner and keeper of the received information does not exist as a person, but as an object of instruction, included in a disciplinary network, where the adult is nothing more than an obedient link in the hierarchical chain. For Rui Canário (2008, p. 79), the school in this shape is outdated: it lacks meaning for those who work there and accumulates a lack of social legitimacy, since it does not do what it advertises but, on the contrary, causes exclusion and highlights inequality, not only among its primary audience, the children, but also among adults whose education is based on schooling. The expansion of mass education has not translated into general well-being in the world, concludes Rui Canário.

As Charlot warned, when we talk about the sociology of reproduction, it is not a question of looking for a cause-and-effect relationship, but of thinking based on visible correlations between the evolution of a defining school shape and the evolution of the standard of well-being. Research from educational sociology suggests a negative correlation.

Critique of the school shape is essentially a critique of the hegemonic school shape of social relations with subject-objects, of ways of dealing with people and of dealing with knowledge. This critique refers to the exercise of power at school and focuses, among other things, on making children to objects, on the reification of the pupil, which is intensified in the Lassallian form of school. Among the possible shapes of social relations, this one was welcomed by an elite, with a certain view of the exercise of legal power and who extended the learning of the relationship with this exercise of power to learning in school. In conversation with Foucault, Deleuze says :

> "If children could voice their protests, or just their questions, in a kindergarten,

> it would be enough to blow up the entire education system. In fact, this system we live in cannot withstand anything: hence its radical fragility at every point, at the same time as its global repressive power."
>
> (Deleuze *apud* Foucault, 1979, p. 43)

Foucault develops the idea, speaking of the childishness associated with cynicism of a particular exercise of power. He gives as an example the punishment imposed on a person who has already been punished and who, when he ends up in prison is set on *"water and bread"*. Which leads Deleuze to reply:

> "Not only prisoners are treated like children, but children are also treated like prisoners. Children undergo an infantilisation that has nothing to do with being a child. In that sense, it is true that schools are a bit like prisons."
>
> (Deleuze *apud* Foucault, 1979, p. 43)

Reification starts with the way in which, consciously or unconsciously, the other is treated in a discriminatory way. In another of his letters collected by Ana Maria Freire, Paulo Freire (2002, p. 194) warns of the need to expose those who label themselves as Christian or progressive and who discriminate others.

When discrimination occurs unconsciously, it is necessary to take the path that exposes this phenomenon. But even when someone gets an initial realisation, it remains difficult on an intellectual level to understand that another person has been harmed, even in obvious situations such as racism. In this context, Paulo Freire explains that the discriminatory process generates a defence mechanism in those who discriminate that makes the act watertight. Those who discriminate intellectually accept they contradict themselves, but in the act there is none such self-contradictory: claiming to love one's neighbour as oneself and showing a racist practice is not incompatible because *"for the racist, the discriminated is not the other but only a 'that there'"* (2002, p. 194).

In less mediatic situations, discrimination goes unnoticed by those who discriminate. In many school situations the teacher and the principal assumes their role as superintendent or guardian and pure representative of the institution. So there is not even an intellectual awareness of the discriminatory treatment in relegating the child to a number in a table, a diary, a class.

The regime of the large urban school reminiscent of a prison and where thousands of young people gather (Pain and Oury, 1972: 70) is illustrated by Fernand Oury, by counting the orders given to the students: the author notices in just one working day thirty-five immobilisation moments of one minute, in the break, when entering the classroom, in the classroom, when someone speaks, when someone pushes, etc ... to see hands on the head as soon someone says *"head"* (1972, p. 71), have become so banal that they are not seen as *"objecting attitudes"* by those

who follow in the hierarchy starting at the ministry of education and ending in the classroom, and learned to limit themselves.

With the chronicle of the barracks school, Pain and Oury (1972) show, together with others, what the French urban official school was like during its thirties glorious years. The child does not exist, as evidenced by some of the many collected examples:

- The mistress tied the pupil's notebook on his back because she found it embarrassing. There is who enjoys this, there is who feels sorry for the colleague, there is who rebels. The student himself does not cry or complain and does not get angry. The student is subject to the law, but to the law of the teacher (Pain and Oury, 1972, p. 186).
- *WISC* tests are good tools to manufacture disabled, argue Pain and Oury (1972, p. 107) and explain why: the test is divided into twelve trials. In the category of general information, it is necessary to know Bayonne is 900 km from Dunkirk, the average French person measures between 1.67 and 1.73 m, porcelain is produced with kaolin or white clay, that WGFG means *Without guarantee from the government,* that the tannin is extracted from the oak. Anyone with a score below 80 is eliminated. The authors conclude that you have to know a lot not to be labeled as disabled.

The school that exists no longer for human development and has become a school for the manufacturing of citizens, sees its own setup as a pan-optical surveillance (Foucault, 2009): Rousseau's transparent society, in which there are no obscure zones, ironically regulated by privileges of power is also that of organised visibility, which Bentham describes in *Panopticum*. For Foucault, Bentham is Rousseau and his opposite: he makes visibility the subject of the dominant and watchful gaze. Foucault quotes Bentham's line *"every comrade becomes a watchman"* to argue that in Émile, Rousseau could say the opposite: the observer is not only a watchman, but also a comrade (2009, p. 119).

Without being familiar with the word *Panopticism* many preschoolers seem to understand the concept perfectly:

> "We always have to pee or poo in front of everyone, they look at us all the time. We wanted toilets with doors to be on our own"[7] (Pain and Oury, 1972, p. 117)

For Pain and Oury (1972), the concentrating urban official school with a hierarchical and transference logic educates individuals living in residential areas. Ivan Illich (1985, p. 16) sees — as Cousinet had observed before him, and subsequently

[7] Translated from French.

Freinet (Niza (2012, p. 325), to whom I will return later — how the school provokes a conceptual falsification. The falsification consists in to make these individuals, the poor, confuse process and content with teaching and learning.

Ivan Illich (1985, p. 62) criticises the school that divides learning into subjects that are always deficient, so instruction is always to be expanded. He believes the school has become a social problem, mainly because both private individuals and governments fund unconventional experiences. In his critique, Illich points to what he describes as the myths of schooling, including the myth of institutionalised values and the myth of measuring values. With this approach to the school shape, the author argues that instruction blurs the horizons of people's imaginations (1985, p. 52). For example, those who are stuck in the logic of receiving teachings seek security in the same kind of compulsive teachings, where the measurement of values has become another obsession. According to the author, personal growth is not something that can be measured, is not in function of a curriculum, let alone by comparing someone to someone else. Illich notes that the school intentionally implants in the student's head a curriculum made of prefabricated blocks of matter and evaluates the result of the deposit. So those who submit to the standards of others to measure their own growth end up applying the same guideline to themselves, concludes the author (1985, p.53). This is in line with Paulo Freire, when analysing the concept of banking education says:

> "No one teaches anyone, nobody teach themselves, people learn with each other with the world as mediator" (1970, p. 68).

Like Freire, Charlot states learning comes from an interaction with knowledge, in which the relation with the other and the relation with the world are central. Further, Illich argues that until they reach *"the expected height"* those who are educated are missing out on everything else, which may be much more than what they have achieved. Under the influence of instruction, they lost their creativity or their ability to take initiatives. And he it ends:

> "When people have trained their heads to accept that values can be produced and measured, then they are ready to accept any kind of hierarchy. There is a scale for the development of nations, another for the intelligence of babies; even progress in the search for peace can be calculated from the number of dead. In an educated world, the road to happiness is paved with the consumption index" (1985, p. 54).

Illich speaks of the curriculum as a myth of packaged values. He argues the school sells a curriculum, that is, a set of subjects that is declared to have future demand in the society where it is sold. Paraskeva (2008) updates this claim. For this author, curriculum and curriculum policy extend to possibilities and impossibilities that

determine the power relations between different social groups in very different ways. Power relations begin with how educators evaluate students in terms of the curriculum. According to Illich (1985), this is a variant of Parkinson's law — the work expands according to the available time — since learning difficulties increase in proportion to the cost of the curriculum.

It is quite clear that all these critiques are aimed at the hegemonic school shape, typical of a concentration school. In this mode of schooling there are no children, no individuals, there are *elements*, *objects, things*. There is a discipline and in this discipline, as Foucault (2009) explains, there are interchangeable elements. Foucault describes the evolution of the classroom, from the Jesuit colleges where people were organised in groups of ten, led by a "decurion" to the order of ranks and quadrants in the eighteenth century. Each one is determined by its place in the sequence. The child becomes a place, a coordinate at the intersection of rows and columns. Discipline, the art of ordering, not only divides knowledge into serial packages, but also arranges students into queues, that is, makes bodies , objects, circulate in a network of impersonal relationships.

The hegemonic school shape finds here the underlying organisation that also frames it: a Lancaster class that became homogeneous, after being organised into large groups according to the instruction that everyone was supposed to receive; queues of students in the corridors and courtyards, depending on the classes; placement in the room in relation to the task to be performed; placement from time to time depending on tests; matching age classes; alignment of taught topics, levels of difficulty; alignment based on performance and behaviour. This is revealed in a space supervised by a single teacher, with a classifying eye:

> "In all classrooms there will be places for all students of all classes, so that everyone in the same class is in the same place and is always stuck. The students of the more advanced lessons are placed on the benches closest to the wall and then the others, according to the order of the lessons, go to the center of the room... after the permission of the inspector of schools" (La Salle *apud* Foucault, 2009, p. 142).

The mechanisation of education denies the child's existence as a person with the capacity to interact and "*aluminises*" it, enslaves it. The child becomes the object of the relationship between teacher and knowledge in Houssaye 's (2004) pedagogical triangle. Barrière and Martuccelli (2000) do not use the term *objectification,* but refer to the *subjugation* that accompanies children and young people in their school experience, many being crushed by their own school career, dominated by a sense of school mediocrity. At the same time, the school and the students strive to make the meritocratic discourse their own. The authors talk about beings sentenced to forced labor. They evoke the school experience as a cynical, artificial and

instrumental atmosphere of communication.

The critic regarding the hegemonic school shape is counter-criticised by whom Aronowitz and Giroux (1992, p. 161) identify as hegemonic intellectuals, those who belong to the advisers of important foundations, in the faculties of the great universities, managers of the cultural industry. Among them are many teachers, at different school levels. Among these intellectuals there are those who alternate their careers as consultants, researchers or content managers with an entry into active politics, that is, among them there are those who take on duties of state administration at certain periods of their lives, as political leaders on the field of education and training and who considers it possible and their views on training to citizenship. For Perrenoud (2005, p. 49) it is doubly naïve to believe that citizenship is limited to teaching primal values to the new generations and that the family must be replaced by the school to provide this education.

When talking about citizenship, Paulo Freire opens up a parenthesis about tolerance, which he sees as a virtue and not a defect, as long as one knows how to disagree. According to the pedagogue, disagreement is a way to increase knowledge production. The tolerance that leads to disagreement and criticism includes the ethical requirement not to lie. Freire (2002, p. 195) asks how tolerance can be instilled in children who are denied the right to be different from each other and from us, and whose world presents them with challenges that ours never stated.

The author here deals with a problem which, as he himself explains, a mechanistic mind cannot comprehend: all revolutions, notwithstanding sudden political changes, involve the continuation of ways of being. The values and beliefs are like an old superstructure that is maintained and that conflicts with a new infrastructure, in the process of creation. This means that even in a revolutionary process,

> "the old elitist and authoritarian education which took power before the revolution and was perceived as incoherent by revolutionary educators, is nevertheless entering the era of the revolution, which makes the composition of the new education difficult."
>
> (Freire, 2002, p. 225)

If this is the case for revolutionary disruptions, it is even more for different political cycles that alternate with elections. In what constitutes a contradiction in a democratic context, the school shape of hegemonic social relations more and more has the students to be subjected to power not allowing them to experience its organising exercise. When analysing power Foucault says there is no global state, but *"there are micro-societies, microcosms that have been installed "* (1979, p. 123); there is power that comes from the division of labor, but also from the hierarchical relationship, as in the modern army: a division of power called discipline, a "technology of power".

Organising power not arising from a group of individuals who confer among themselves to regulate their activities, and is not based on local and possibly urgent organisational needs, but is exercised by an individual or a limited group of individuals, originates in work that rarely is related to production. Foucault notes:

> "It just so happened that I took care of people who were outside the circuits of productive work: insane people, the sick, prisoners and now also children. The work and the way they have to carry it out has mainly a disciplinary value for them" (1979, p. 124).

Disciplinary authority acknowledges the exams in hospitals as the ritual whereby the internal hierarchy determines the actions of the individual, making this individual absolutely dependent on who has informational dominion over him. Foucault (2009, p. 178) describes the new relationship that develops between the patient and the doctor when the routine of regular examinations is introduced in the seventeenth century. These examinations by the doctor during his daily visits to the hospital range from a quick inspection to a systematic, skilled observation. The regular examination of the doctor makes him the holder of knowledge about the patient and changes fully his relationship with the hospital's internal staff. This creates the role of nurse subordinate to the doctor, but holder of part of the knowledge about the patient.

Foucault shows that the same phenomenon occurs in the exam at school. The school becomes *"a means of continuous inquiry"* (2009, p. 178). The author recalls the *Christian Schools*, where attempts were made to introduce a system of daily examinations on the various subjects taught. A monthly test had to decide who could submit to the inspector's scrutiny. It is not the test of apprentices or craftsmen, the masterpiece by which they validate their mastery in their craft, but information gathered about the pupil by the teacher and not necessarily available to the pupil . According to Foucault, the "examination" school, in which the student's knowledge is checked, marks the beginning of pedagogy as a science, just as the "research" hospital marks medicine as a science features.
Traditionally power is something that is seen, that is manifested, Foucault continues. The exercised disciplinary authority, however, becomes invisible. In discipline it is not the authority, but the subjects that must be seen. Testing is the technique by which the subject is constantly kept visible. With the exam, the disciplinary authority succeeds in organising the 'elements' of the group and in that sense treats them as objects, as things. This reification of the subject leads to the described individual.

A file is kept on each student at school, everyone is made into an administrative document. Analogous to the clinical record of the patient, without direct observation the school record informs about the student to whom possesses the interpre-

tation knowledge and the disciplinary authority resulting from it.

In the barracks school or in the large schoolclusters, the description of the individual, including the recording of his evolution originates a school file that accompanies and classifies the objected person, usually based on a comparison with peers in the same class. According to Pain and Oury (1972), individuals are scientifically classified by tests and they illustrate this with the case of a child in the special class. After one year in this improvement class, a girl goes back to the original class but is returned two days later. The teacher asks her if they put her to work. The intriguing answer *"no, they didn't do anything to me"* prompts a *"request for information"* to the headmistress, to which the reply is : *"Given the IQ of 70, we thought it impossible that she could have caught up within a year"* (Pain and Oury, 1972, p. 104).

The homogenisation necessary for the hegemonic school shape by age — which consists of putting together children who can be up to a year apart, which is quite a lot when you are 5 or 6 years old — is at the same time contradicted by the disciplinary authority using as an additional criterion for cataloging and ranking the student's responsiveness to standardised tests, bringing heterogeneity to its own setup. Caught in the model of mass school the authority created, it now jumps back and forth between financial sustainability and the sustainability of the disciplinary instrument it does not want to give up, introducing new homogenisations based on previous classification. Experiments with parallel classes, special classes, intermediate classes, adapted curricula, level groups or other forms of provisional or final organisation of pupils appearing cyclically in different countries are proof of this.

The emergence of segregating differentiation reinforces the critique on the school shape in its hegemonic variant with its oppressive systemic or personal pressure of adults on children and students. Some criticism is accompanied by proposals for other school shape variants. It is true that while the school form variants where the action is controlled by the central authority with delegation of power down to the class level have been developed and which are characterised by their vertical and highly hierarchical relationship between teachers and students, other shapes are also developing. They support a relationship from the child's perspective and how it can be taken up by the educator. So as Lobrot (1972, p. 1) pointed out, the real education problem today is anyhow a problem of human relations. One can therefore speak of a social problem if one likes .

The line developed from child perspective is referred to by for instance Altet (1999) as *pédagogie puéri-centrée*, child-centred pedagogy and lies somewhere on the transition between school shapes of social relations with subject-objects and those with subject-actors. There are models in which the pedagogical action serves as a cosmetic for a school shape of social relations that essentially maintains

the organising role of the teacher for a supposedly homogenised group. However, there are also those school shapes in which, by giving the child greater and independent development, the valuing of learning is proposed with individualising processes. The belonging to a group is secondary and changes the relation to power but also to knowledge, thus creating another family of school shapes of social relations presented below.

Subject-object or subject-actor

At the moment the Lassallian school shape developed, other school shapes of social relations appear from the middle of the eighteenth century based on previous preceptor practices. These school shapes of social relations with subject-actors have the common characteristic that they assign an active role to the children who are guided in their learning process by the teacher. The decisions about the work are made by the teacher after hearing and seeing the child in full action and sometimes by the child himself under the guidance of the teacher or through a decision-making process where the children intervene as a group.

The first sub-point *The child is central* approaches this family of school shapes, from the interference zone with the school shape with subject-objects described in the previous pages. It describes the so-called negative pedagogy, which Resweber (1988) traces to Rousseau and relates it to the child centred pedagogy (Altet, 1999) in which the child is empowered to have an active role. From this point of view, the school shape of social relations with subject-actors originates about a century after La Salle developed his teaching proposals. As we shall see, since the generalisation of the school in Europe in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, this school shape has since coexisted with the school shape of social relations with subject-objects.

The second subpoint, *Interaction with knowledge in the group with regulated power,* deals with the introduction of tools to transfer work management to the group and bridges the gap between the school shapes of social relations with subject-actors and those of social relations with subject authors. Célestin Freinet is one of the key figures between these two school shapes.

The child is central

Child-centred pedagogy certainly goes back to Rousseau sticked to the interaction between the preceptor and the disciple and. This mode adapts adult-administered education to the child's learning needs. For Resweber (1988, p. 20), Rousseau's originality lies in the unconscious relativisation of the cultural models he inherited

from the past, when he bases pedagogy not on an anonymous need but on an individual freedom, and links it to the access to culture.
The author considers this makes Rousseau the father of negative or non-directive pedagogy. As Resweber (1988, p. 23) explains, negative or backward teaching means a "second reading" is possible. Here the child first goes through the practical experience, after which he is offered the key to understanding it. Later, the Hamburg school assumed that only by abolishing the alienating school institution the authoritarian position of the master would be abolished. Rousseau did not get that far according to this school of thought. Resweber (1988, p. 25) illustrates the theses of the Hamburg school with the school Tolstoy founded for peasant children and with Neill's (1970a, 1970b) school in Summerhill but also with the German experiences of schools in self-management inspired by teacher-comrades. For the author, this movement confuses *let them grow* with *let them do*. To support his claim, Resweber uses Lewin's famous study — to which the forerunners of institutional pedagogy also attach importance when conceptualising the Council — about autocratic groups, the anarchist " late do " groups and the democratic group conducive to negotiation, and therefore the model for creating *"a living space conducive to adaptation to different situations and to creativity"* (1988, p. 27).

The negative pedagogy recommending that the child first go through the experience and then receive the explanatory key reinforces the child-centred thinking that is prevalent in child psychology research. In 1913, Claparède (1962, p. 6) signed the introduction to the translation of *The School and the Child: Being Selections from the Educational Essays of John Dewey*, by Pidoux. He refers to Dewey's contacts with Hall, famous at the time for his work in child psychology, and recalls that both believed that pedagogy should begin with the child. According to the author both have proclaimed pedagogy should undergo a *"Copernican revolution"* expression adopted by Meirieu (1996, p. 57) who attributes it to Claparède. He tells how Dewey, who put the child's work at the center of the activity, searched at a school furniture store for suitable tables for the children's activities at the school he led. The shopkeeper noticed when Dewey requested furniture that children could work on, there was only furniture for children to listen. To which Dewey would have said that this answer summed up all of traditional teaching. It seems quite clear that John Dewey refers to the hegemonic school shape presented here as "traditional education" and that he proposes a different school shape of learning: *"Learning? Of course. But live first and learn through life and in life"* (Claparède, 1962, p.16).

Claparède explains what he considers to be functional education which takes into account the discoveries of empirical psychology, revealing learning as an integrated process, while pedagogy, in his view, was limited to the training of individual skills. At school, according to the author, children are still asked to listen when

they don't want to hear anything; to speak, write, edit, when they have nothing to say; to observe without showing any curiosity beforehand. The author argues that what he describes as functional education is just the opposite: the child is a living being and acts like an adult. The life of the child is one whole. Claparède recalls that Rousseau already gave education a functional character in *Emile (1962, p. 22)* .

Returning to his time, Claparède evokes Kerschensteiner's *"labour schools"*. This German educator was well aware of Dewey's work and proposed replacing book schools (*buchschulen*) with work schools (*arbeitschulen*). In this context, Claparède also speaks of the Dutchman Jan Ligthart, who in 1885 developed a pedagogy that he describes as *concentric*. Ligthart believed it was possible to develop a range of different activities from a focus, a point of interest, which he sought in real life rather than in the popular 'wall charts' with scenes from everyday life that served as a support for educators in passing on information to their pupils. Twenty years before Montessori and Decroly and almost thirty before Claparède's own "*Maison des petits"* the Dutch pedagogue contributed to the development of didactic material based on stories and reference words. Contrary to Ligthart's own ideas, this material, known in the Netherlands and Flanders as "*the reading board*" will be used in public schools without major changes until the early 1980s[8].

At the end of the nineteenth century, however, Decroly adopted a similar reading-learning technique in officially still largely French-speaking Belgium which he called the global method. He took up the term of Nicolas Adams, contemporary of Rousseau, who by the end of the eighteenth century had already developed a global approach to reading for children from the wealthy families with whom he worked. This global method will be taken up and adapted by both Foucambert and Célestin Freinet. The latter calls his adaptation the *"natural method"*. All of these methods are often regarded as antithetical to the alphabetic or syllabic methods, while there is a tendency to combine elements of the two methods in prescriptions for the hegemonic school shape in which the activity of the teacher is more important than that of the pupils. According to some school critics, such as Ferreiro and Teberosky (2008), it is this mechanised and ritualised approach that leads children to decipher and copy rather than read and write.

Dewey wrote in the early 1900s he had seen in kindergartens manual work reduced to a series of ordered tasks and notes it is argued children must know how to use the tools before engaging in effective construction, ie they must learn first and only afterwards produce. He points to the misleading *"hands-on class"* which is still

[8] In 1975, most Flemish schools approached the teaching to read and write through the adventures of children living in the Dutch countryside at the beginning of the twentieth century, after recording the 17 reference words.

a lesson to familiarise pupils with capabilities of various tools, ie where adults still wants everything to be learned before having production.

The negative pedagogy or anti-authoritarian pedagogy puts the child at the center of the activity. Children are tried to be stimulated with artefacts or stories. This school shape variants wherein free activity of children serves as a motor for learning, as is the case in Summerhill, but also in other institutions that are part of the New School Movement are not generalised mainly because involved teachers are not interested in that generalisation. Among pedagogues from the early nineteenth century to the twentieth century, there was a growing concern to organise schools with school shapes other than those in favour of transfer and instruction. Part of the enlightened bourgeoisie had great interest for this, but, as Perrenoud (2005) says, the motto seems to be *"do what I say and don't do as I do"*.

The pedagogues of the early twentieth century generally saw that the schoolchild is a child with the need to learn and as Charlot would later put it:

> "The learner is first and foremost a child or a teenager, that is, a subject confronted with the need to learn and be present in their world of diversity of knowledge and science"[9] (1997, p. 35).

Similarly, Tyack and Cuban (1997) speak of *tinkering* in a school shape in which the relationship with work is individualised and in which it is important for learning to evoke the activity of the educator as someone who is attentive to the potential of each.

> "It has happened to us that when we talk to different groups of society about school reform to ask people about the best experiences they had as a student in a public school. They almost always remember the influence of some educator or teacher who challenged them to develop their potential, who breathed new life into a subject or who helped in more complicated moments. There's a remarkable parallel here with what teachers said to be their greatest job satisfaction and sense of work done: seeing their students grow intellectually and mature as people"[10] (1997, p. 136).

By focusing on the activity of the child learning is facilitated. When this happens, there is an interaction with knowledge. Charlot (1997, p. 74) emphasises the importance of this fact: for him, knowledge is a relation in action, and the process leads to the establishment of a knowledge connection with the world that will make the subject to have an intellectual education and not the accumulation of intellectual content.

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9 Translated from French.

10 Retro-translation from the original text through Portuguese.

Interaction with knowledge in the group with regulated power

The German pedagogue Geheeb, critic of school education, was the founder of the *Odenwaldschule* distinguishing itself from the official schools of the time because the school allowed and encouraged co-education between boys and girls since its foundation in 1911, which in Germany only became generalised in the 1960s. But the still existing[11] *Odenwaldschule* is best known for the organisation of flexible learning paths and the process of co-management by students through school meetings, important for the emancipatory aspects that allow this kind of social relationship in the school context.

The whole school experience, as well as flexible processes, coupled with moments of dialogue and negotiation prove to be an important support for learning of tolerance. In that sense the Freirean meaning[12] given to consciousness as a necessary element for emancipation already was used by Geheeb. I recall Rochex (1995, p. 260) who considers the emancipation process as the process of working out the individual's own historicity, different from the parents, but which has come about with their consent.

Returning to the flexible processes, these can be interpreted as an extension of the concept of individualised work, either derived from the Dalton plan or based on self-correcting material coupled with a monitored study plan. If on the one hand there is a break with the group class, thus avoiding the forced homogenisation advocated by the hegemonic school shape, on the other hand sought greater group presence to break the dual relationship with the teacher. Both in the case of the school in *Odenwald* and later in that of Summerhill, but also more recently in the proposal of the Portuguese public school EBI Aves/São Tomé de Negrelos (known as the *Escola da Ponte*), there is a school assembly enabling students to participate in the regulation of social relationships and, ultimately, have co-management of the school.

After 1925, Geheeb joined the International League for the New Education together with other pedagogues of the time responsible for creating schools with a school shape in which the organisation of learning, according to its own definition, is based on *"active methods"*. I think it is important to overstate these variants of school shapes of social relations because they are part of social relations that develop a democratic practice in the act of doing and entail obligations for every educator holding a democratic speech as Paulo Freire reminds us:

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11 School website, accessed on 21.11.2012: http://www.odenwaldschule.de/

12 See above, page 81.

> "It does not matter which school environment they work in, primary school, high school or university, vocational education or informal popular education, progressive educators have no choice but to strive for coherence between their democratic discourse and their equally democratic practice" (2002, p. 226).

In contrast to the school shape that calls for a reorganisation of the educational space itself, of which some aforementioned projects and the learning centers of Illich (1985) are an example, nevertheless there are in the same family of school shapes of social relations with subject-actors, also some stable groups developing within the school organisation democratic practices, based on communication and discussion around individual and group tasks.

We find them with Célestin Freinet, whose original ideas were close to the child-oriented pedagogues of the New Education League. In 1943, he wrote in *Vers l'école du peuple* (republished in 1969) that he defended education through work, a culture born of the activities of children themselves, a science born of experience and a thinking that paid attention to the subject at hand in advance.

Freinet faces the authority issues placed in the hands of the educator-officer as he tries to break away from the New Education, creating the French Modern School Movement, for the school he wants to be for everyone and not only for an intellectual and bourgeois elite. To change the relationship between teachers and school, a model of sharing is needed. The social cooperative in its various aspects in which Freinet actively participates will lead him to found the school cooperative, co-managed by the pupils, to which I shall return in the next point. The collective organisation of the work is strengthened by the workshops to produce and print free texts Freinet makes available to his class as this also requires collective management.

Sérgio Niza considers Freinet's break with the League of New Education is not radical. Essentially, he says, Freinet's proposal remains a child-centred one, with the concern to negotiate with the children the co-operation of the productive workshops and their management, thus just beginning the shared organisation of space and time:

> "The new school is a child-oriented system in which the student as an individual is central to all activities. The charter of the French modern school movement , drawn up in the 1960s, maintains a child-centred objective, but, contradictory enough, Freinet used co-operation and organisation as means of character formation, of citizenship..." (2001, p. .44).

For Sérgio Niza, Freinet realised as convinced adherent of the co-operative movement that co-operative management could be a way to change relationships in the school, thus anticipating in some sense the analytical and critical debate that institutional pedagogy and critical pedagogy would introduce. Sérgio Niza (2012, p.

409) recalls that Freinet's proposals for a cooperative approach to the learning act which Cousinet had also outlined as the theory of cooperative learning, were important for student participation. But it is institutional pedagogy and the experiences of school self-governance, as narrated by António Sérgio, that will drive cooperative learning into the institutional dimension that needs mobilising and organising writings[13].

When the organisation of the school on the contrary leads to a course of action where the relationships are hierarchical, writing can only be a biased exercise of communicative sense. As Vygotsky had already noted at the beginning of the twentieth century,

> "Until now, writing has had a very limited place in school practice in spite of the fundamental role it plays in the cultural development of the child. Children are taught to draw letters and form words with them, but written language is not taught" (2007b, p. 125).

A school shape of social relations with a participatory democratic conception and based on a concept of authorship, differs from the acceptance of power previously established in that shape, even if announced by a representative of the school of the democratic society. For Lobrot (1972, p. 5) this is not just about a change in pedagogical techniques. This sociologist who theorised institutional pedagogy argues that he clearly favours Freinet techniques and the *"active methods"* of the new school and even programmed education. But, he warns, these techniques don't really change the nature of the relationship because they don't get to the bottom of the problem. For Lobrot, the alienating relationship, the authoritarian relationship, cannot be the basis for another relationship between teacher and student, and therefore it must be destroyed.

What seems indisputable is that through the work of pedagogues who reflect on the relations existing in a classroom, both with power and with knowledge, the child takes its place, next to the pupil who is no longer a 'reification'. While the child remains the object of the teacher's relationship to knowledge in Houssaye's teacher-knowledge-student triangle (2004: 38), knowledge also becomes the object of the relationship between the teacher and the student, in teacher- or child-centred contexts.

In summary, we note that as soon as the child begins to exist at school not as pupil *in fans* in the sense of *being deprived of the word* but as the bearer of a pronounced will, it becomes possible to imagine a school shape of social relations that incorporates a pedagogical approach where the student and not the teacher

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[13] See below, *About trying democracy in the microcosm*.

is placed in the center, where the pedagogical learning paradigm (Trindade and Cosme, 2010) promotes the relationship with knowledge.

Power and knowledge in the cooperative classroom

In the previous pages I have drawn my attention to the family of school shapes of social relations that are located in the center, between the two poles of the proposed *continuum* of school shapes. They are school shapes of social relationships with children that take on a more active role in the learning process. In this and the next point I shall deal with a third family of school shapes of social relations, which I place at the pole of the *continuum* opposite to the pole of the first group. In this family of school shapes, the social aspects of the joint construction of a work proposal and the institutional role of the group are given a prominent place. Here the class equips itself with the necessary tools to evaluate its own action in accordance with its own curriculum, with prior knowledge of the formal curriculum and the formal and external obligations to which the group knows it is socially subject. The resulting complex management of the learning acts produces variants of the school shape of social relations which, in the microcosm of the classroom, transform a hierarchical and vertical relation into a power relationship that tends towards the horizontal. The authority everybody has, is the result of the thoughtful contribution that the institutional management introduces into the learning community that wishes to create itself collectively .

I return to Lobrot's comment from the previous page. He argues that as long as everyone has authorship to negotiate space, time, and learning work, the child's connected relation to knowledge becomes possible. The adult remains available as mediator and provocateur to the extent that he frees himself from didactic techniques and artefacts, as we shall see later. Fernand Oury used to say that in the classes he led year after year, his first job was to turn pupils back into kids with a desire to learn. But already at the beginning of the twentieth century, some pedagogues and psychologists had linked child-centred work with group decision-making, which was not necessarily the case for all child-centred proposals that also found their place in the school shape of social relations with subjects-actors.

Child-centred practice paves the way for a school shape in which negotiation and communication within the group will be able to develop. To create negotiating circuits, as noted above, the group has to be in the possibility to institute and receive critically all writing produced within and outside the group. This is possible, according to Sérgio Niza, as soon as the school frees itself from techniques and school materials that *"can only deepen the gap between school and culture"* (2012: 412). The pedagogical communication paradigm (Trindade and Cosme, 2010), that

make possible criterion and choice (Úcar, 2011) and is influenced by anti-pedagogy (Resweber 1988), allows the classroom to be sketched as a learning community, is a school shape of relations between subject-actors and among subject-authors, assuming learning the relationship to power as part of the *praxis*, creating space for a dialectical relation to knowledge.
We saw in the previous point that anti-pedagogy questions the school institution in different ways. Resweber (1988) quotes Foucault when he equates the school that cures ignorance with the hospital that cures disease. As we saw earlier, Foucault clearly denounces the seclusion of file-reduced school users.

However, what interests us, when highlighting the boundary between the school shape of social relations with subject-actors and that of social relations between subject-actors and subject-authors is the critique regarding the interaction with knowledge, as well as the criticism about the status of the teacher. For Resweber (1988, p. 35), current anti-pedagogy seeks to understand and present the content of knowledge and the relationships between people in the class in a different way.
Resweber claims to find who in this movement transfers delegated authority and internal regulation to the group and leave the clarifying role to the teacher. But this role, fulfilled within the institution, creates an institution within the institution itself, in which the teacher-officer becomes the representative of a demagogic authority. The author argues that this is because anti-pedagogy fails to resolve the contradictions it creates itself, when it reproduces the institutional relations of the institution it first criticises, and thus finally arrives at institutional pedagogy. Resweber links this pedagogical model to the psycho-sociology of human relations and to the psycho- and socio-therapeutic applications of social psychology. The founders of institutional pedagogy gave rise to several currents, two of which are worth mentioning here. The first, social-analytical, with as theorists Lobrot and Loureau, will deepen institutional analysis and consider the economic and political dimensions of the institution. The second, psychoanalytic, with Fernand and Jean Oury and Aida Vasquez, will emphasise the relational dimension and the instituting action of the institution. Resweber follows these authors already mentioned when he argues that institutional pedagogy changes radically the relationship between teacher and student. That relationship is no longer dual but becomes triangular by including the institutional body itself which thus becomes the focus in conflict situations. In its simplest form, said Fernand Oury, the soap and its use become an institution, instituted by the group itself of children and adults as soon as its use causes a conflict.

For Vasquez and Oury (1967), institutional pedagogy explains itself with the elements that make it up *as soon as* and *as* it reveals those elements: it was born in the French schools of the big city in the mid-twentieth century, with contributions

of the New Education Movement and the ideas of pedagogues like Decroly and Ferrière. An important contribution comes from Célestin Freinet, the techniques he applies and the relationships he establishes with the school environment. Institutional pedagogy works from practice and practice analysis, and invites teachers to observe their class work and to theorise what they are doing. They refer to the influence of Dewey's pragmatism and some contributions from schools that adopted the Dalton-plan to plan and work on self-correcting cards. They incorporate elements from Makarenko's work, the French Scouts, youth hostel management and libertarian pedagogy. Through the work of Fernand Oury with the "*special classes*" for children diagnosed with learning difficulties schools in the Parisian suburbs, there was a strong interest in psychoanalytic concepts to try to clarify what happens in the classroom as a group (Vasquez and Oury, 1967, p. 233).

Monographs that *tell the practice* and written by educators with the help of a group of colleagues are the chosen method by Vasquez and Oury (1977) for theorising the *cooperative classes* leading to propose this theorised practice for which the psychiatrist Jean Oury suggested in 1958 the term *institutional pedagogy*. In this context, Jacques Pain (2009, pp. 93-108) reproduces part of a 1962 article by Jean Oury in which he explains what connection he sees between complex institutional therapeutic practice and institutional pedagogy: both are transformations within the cell of a great architecture — hospital and school — which he equates when it comes to creating problems that tear society to pieces and apparently has not yet processed the concentration experience of the twentieth century second world war.

In these literal or symbolic panoptic structures, some means are good for giving the floor. For Fernand Oury, it's not about giving the word away and even less about offering it, because giving is just that: an offer from the elite, from the culture. This is about taking the floor. To achieve this, there must be a space where everyone learns that relation with the word is a relation with power. The *cooperative class* conceives itself as a space-time organised by the group and gives that organisation to each individual in the group. It is a doubly interactive space: interactive for all members of the group that set it up, but also interactive with the outside world. In this space of negotiated freedom, work has meaning for whom takes on a task.

Snyders (1975) identifies the aspect of Oury and Vasquez's institutional pedagogy when discussing non-directivity. This would emerge from the work projects, an idea derived from the negative or non-authoritarian pedagogy that usually operates outside the context of the mass school. For the author, Oury transcends the usual illusions about the spontaneity of the child or group of children and the

miracles they supposedly produce. As educators can easily testify, if one is limited to letting children speak in a pleasant environment not controlled by the adult, they will quickly imitate whatever the family or established society imposes on them. Vasquez and Oury are clear in this regard:

> "It would be an illusion to think that it is enough to let the children speak in a circle to bring order to the chaos of the relations thus revealed"[14] (Vasquez and Oury, 1967, p. 92).

Again, authority should not be confused with authoritarianism. In their writings, Vasquez and Oury (1967, 1977) hold that the organisation of a group involves the regulation of power in the group. This adjustment cannot be achieved when authority disappears as if by magic. One does not learn to negotiate power in a context where the adult refuses to talk about power. When the adult consciously renounces the hierarchical role of representative of the order that imposes forced labor, he also realises that he will have to work with the group for the negotiated settlement to come about. The group learns to recognise authority as the advice of someone who speaks with knowledge. Authorship becomes authority. Children with life stories that differ among themselves and obviously differ from the life story of the adult accompanying them, speak with authority about what they know. It is up to the adult to make it possible to link the internalised knowledge to the available external information, creating contexts in which the communication circuits can develop. Giving up coercive power and creating communication circuits has nothing, *absolutely nothing to do* with giving power to subjects. Macedo speaks in this case about the underlying paternalism that does not liberate, but provokes a dependency relationship. In those cases pedagogues and educators, often with good intentions, organise work cycles so that children are "abled" to intervene in the world, but they fall into the trap:

> "Instead of building pedagogical structures that empower oppressed pupils and students to establish authority for themselves, they paternally proclaim that they must *empower* students. I say over and over that this usually leads to the position literacy and poverty pimp."
>
> (Macedo, 2008, p. 18).

Romantic and charitable paternalism, associated with false generosity, says Macedo (2008, p. 20) is precisely what tempted Paulo Freire to harsh words as soon as certain situations gave expression to this pedagogical paternalism. According to Macedo pseudo-critical educators continue to resort instrumental approach to language teaching although they say they have abandoned it.

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[14] Translated from French.

These approaches to instrumental literacy, the author continues, both for the poor and, in a more refined version, for the rich, developed during university specialisation courses, have one thing in common: they hinder the development of critical thinking. Macedo says that this inability to associate the world's reading with the world itself does not combat weakening democratic institutions. And those settings are vulnerable in their own right while they rife with the asymmetrical balance of power, which is merely an exponent of the hypocritical nature of representative democracies.

Vasquez and Oury (1967: 201) recall Freinet already tried to avoid the scholastic; he renounced the specific working model of the school, avoiding rituals such as queuing at the entrance, "*sitting down with arms crossed*". He did not allow the children to do homework or exercises whose sense or use was not understood. This scholasticism, present in everything the school takes out of society and turns into school objects, remains visible in simulacra of decision-making bodies set up in classes or schools , with the name of general assembly, council, cabinet, observatory, without being explicitly said what the purpose of such a body is and what decision-making power is actually granted to it. It is quite different to envision an institutional body, in which a whole community participates, and in which the relationship between individual freedom and collective commitment is tested and regulated, than organising debates about civility together, without practical consequences.

Vasquez and Oury (1967, p. 193) found that urban school analyses, which present a very different picture from rural school analyses, were not very frequent until the mid-twentieth century, despite the great social importance. The authors note, at the time of the 1967 publication of *Vers une pedagogie institutionnelle*, that instead of analysing the relation between the student and the teacher, which is still described without regard to how both are trapped in a structure that determines behaviour. Institutional pedagogy has certainly contributed to the discussion about power in schools, once it is exercised by delegation. The teacher, who is the faithful custodian of authority, but aware of the institutional capacity of the group, resorts to creating a totally unusual situation other than the hegemonic school shape within the institution itself. Lobrot (1972, pp. 214) notes this means that those in power, that is those who have the ability to impose their will, can also refrain from it, while others can take power precisely to impose their will. Whoever gives up the power to impose the will in the instituting organisation cannot be replaced in that organisation by another member of the group, since no one else has been appointed for this purpose by the Higher Authority. Those who relinquish their legitimate power create a system of global relations that can be expanded within organisations.

Like Lobrot, Vasquez and Oury represent the balance of power in the instituting group as the structure of the *Atomium*, while the balance of power outside the group is preserving *the Eiffel Tower*: the authors recall (1967, p. 107) that, in the centralised school, the teacher is "*covered*" by the headmaster, in turn "*covered*" by the inspector, in turn "*covered*", etc., meaning the subordinate *"has the honour of asking permission"* while the superior passes directives.

In the school shape of social relations in which the instituting class organises itself to learn how to use power, the relations between the elements of the group take on different contours. As mentioned earlier, Carra and Pagoni (2007, p. 51) describe the transformation of a school in the Lille suburb, underlining two dimensions of the work: responsibility and autonomy on the one hand and honouring the report on the other to (the relation with) the collective and the cooperative: it is not about being the best in the class, but about developing skills that also benefit the group.

About trying democracy in the microcosm

In order to improve the participatory management of space and time and to better understand their meaning, many tools for regulation and analysis underwent conceptual development. In many cases, they were initially simple regulators of the group's internal life.

Currently there are several proposals for cooperative management of space-time for those who envisage an instituting group. One of them consists of the participatory management of the work project desired by the class group, in articulation with the study plan imposed by the national government. This singular curriculum is planned and implemented by children together with one or more adults, each with their own way of learning. There is constant reflection on the use of power in the classroom. This thinking led to the Educational Cooperative Council, conceptualised in Portugal by practitioners and researchers of the Modern School Movement (Nóvoa and Vilhena, 1996; Serralha, 2007; Niza 2012). This Council has its roots in institutional pedagogy, Célestin Freinet's school cooperative and the experiences of self-government in schools António Sérgio talks about.

As we saw in the previous point, there are examples of children's governance in the early twentieth century, such as the Children's Republic described by Paul Geheeb ([1930] 2001) or the Summerhill School Assembly (Neill, 1970a). These instruments regulated aspects of the internal life of the classroom and school. The cooperative meetings that Freinet devised, when he broke with the New Education League and proposed the school for the people, involved the children in the financial management of the cooperative so that they insight about the acquiring of the necessary materials needed for the various workshops in the classroom. The term

cooperative assembly was replaced by *cooperative council,* in institutional pedagogy in the 1960s and 1970s often simply referred to as *"le Conseil"* or *"conseil de la classe coopérative"* (Vasquez and Oury, 1967). Pochet and Oury (1979) illustrate the relation with power in a classroom on the outskirts of Paris when they publish the book *Qui c'est le Conseil?* in the context of institutional pedagogy. There Fernand Oury, after observing how Catherine Pochet reorganises the class and its social relations, writes:

> "Well well! She starts with the Council, the cornerstone of institutions. She must have read Vasquez-Oury: "start where you can, with what you like". [...] Catherine wants to keep writing down everything that is being done in the Council. Will I be able to help her to understand through the discourse of the children what everyone will give the floor and authority, how internal institutions develop?"[15] (1979, p. 30).

This question is a characteristic example of the mind work of the educators' working groups adopting institutional pedagogy as a model, or in the cooperative self-study groups at the MEM. The aim is to guide and better understand the action developed with the children through these working groups. In the particular case of the Council, some procedures fall back in part on some of the routines Freinet taught his students about how addressing the cooperative assembly. He describes them in1943 in *L'école modern française* republished three years after his death under a different title and tells that everything begins on Saturday at the end of the day, when the last hour of the working week is reserved for the weekly assembly of the school cooperative (1969, p. 73). Freinet explains that after discussing issues related to the co-op, the 'wall newspaper' is read which provides an in-depth assessment of community life at the school over the past week. On the large page there are three columns: "we criticise... we congratulate... we ask". Freinet (1969, p. 125) is concerned with the authenticity of the management of the cooperative, and explains the role of children in organised children's society in which managing school life and making decisions are not limited to checking the payment of the monthly contribution.

In Vasquez and Oury (1967, p. 71), the class is led by the group of pupils and their teacher. Transformations, arrangements, changes of disposition are decided *"en Conseil de Classe Coopérative"*. Describing that Council they say it is important the group of children and their teacher manage themselves in the organisation of the work and the activities that motivate them. The authors suggest that by taking charge of the own administration, one owns present and future what is perhaps the most important thing. This openness to the world, the precise organisation of

[15] Translated from French.

work, the differentiation of places and moments, create an effective and highly formative work universe of work (*idem* , p. 63).

Thus, for Lobrot (1972, p. 215), institutional pedagogy reveals itself through the power vacuum created in the group, so the proper group is given the opportunity to organise itself and to create the institutions that are useful to it, thanks to the various initiatives between groups of attendees. The institution of the Council and a self-regulatory system[16] in the classroom is not easy but ensures that all participants learn, including the adults at certain times. In detail, Pochet and Oury (1979) describe periods of frustration when the teacher who wants to tackle the next topic to speed up the discussion thereby gets over some of the problems in the classroom provoking a conflict situation. With the same attention to detail, the authors describe how the Council builds rules with constitutional force, which will mark the social relations within the group. Again, it involves collective learning processes that often have a experiment period before it can be decided that a particular scheme is useful:

> "Everyone agrees: everyone does their best not to laugh at others. There is a period of experimentation for the rule, setbacks are inevitable. There is at this time no sanction, no question: we are in the test phase.
> It sometimes happens that a decision that has been made turns out to be completely unrealistic. In this concrete case, after a while, hardly anyone laughs at other members of the group: it works, so it is possible and at the next Council, with everyone's agreement, *"I do not laugh at others"* becomes ***law***.
> It is a written law because it is not possible to chisel it into the stone. Our law, law for them, law for us, point of light, reference and help in future storms."[17]
>
> (Pochet and Oury, 1979, p. 70).

In another somewhat different context, described by Carra and Pagoni (2007, p. 44), the teachers distinguish the laws of the class from its rules. They associate the laws with the *constitution*, while the rules are easily voted on. One of the teachers who accepted the observation explains that a rule is deleted or replaced if it

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16 This self-regulatory system includes, for Oury, who was a black belt in judo, the awarding of belts like those of the judokas. I think this one practice can be questioned today in the light of the considerations within the MEM. This attribution is perhaps the result of Oury's work context, in which he believed that in this way the social competence of each person is revealed in the group. The pedagogue (Oury, 2009 – posthumously) argues a clear vision of everyone element of the group in relation to the competencies and weaknesses of each other is needed as long as the judo philosophy is preserved that whoever has a more advanced suit is obliged to whoever has a previous belt to support possession in obtaining the next bond, whereby the belt also protects everyone from dangerous situations.

17 Translated from French.

doesn't work; a law does not change, but can be translated or made explicit again: what does "*respect others*" mean? The authors resort to Foucault (2007, p. 46) when he distinguishes law from discipline: where the discipline by the norm installed judges individuals and dispositions, the law judges acts and facts.

Carra and Pagoni (2007, p. 31), who are interested in the socialisation at school where the child takes an active role in the process of its own socialisation and builds its own social identity through transactions with the group, discovered how effective the regulation was. They find that in three weeks the violence in the corridors has almost completely disappeared.

In Portugal, references to the *Council* and later to the *Cooperative Council*, formerly known as *General Assembly,* appear in MEM texts in the late 1980s though in the translation of Vasquez and Oury in 1977, published by *Estampa publishing house* in a pedagogical series coordinated by Sérgio Niza *"conseil de coopérative"* is translated as *"cooperative council"*. At the end of the eighties, Sofia Faria studies the regulation of work in one of the classes of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* relying on Oury and Vasquez to describe the regulatory meeting and says: *"Class assembly: According to Vasquez and Oury, the Council makes the word effective, allowing the group to rediscover the language that was momentarily missing"* (1989, p.30).

Sérgio Niza (1991, pp. 27-30), citing the work and concerns of several educators including Clara Felgueiras, proposed in the same period to move from the term *class assembly* to *Council* and from the term *wall journal* to *class diary*[18]. Later, the author refers again to the evolution from Freinet's Cooperative Assembly to the Council, associating this term with the work of French socio-institutionalists:

> " It is important to add that the valorisation of the functions of the Council as an institutional locus of the cooperatively developing life of the class group is due to the way in which we managed to position ourselves in the MEM during the 1960s and 1970s and enter into dialogue with the conflicting but innovative positions of whom worked out institutional pedagogy in France, sometimes perhaps with excessive verbal abuse towards Freinet" (2003, p. 4).

In the same article, Sérgio Niza emphasises when talking about the Council :

> "It is important to underline this is a qualitative transformation of the school cooperative converted to cooperative assembly that Profit created and Freinet talentedly used to formally manage resources, techniques and social behaviour in a classroom or school" (2003, p. 3).

As will be seen in *Memories in the shadow of the fig tree* the school of *Voz do Operário of Ajuda* conceptually follows this change in the period studied, even if

[18] See Book 2 under *"A Council named assembly"* .

the full introduction of the new terms is still a few years away[19]. However, Sérgio Niza explains the Council as *the Cooperative Council of the Class* (1998b, p. 88), a structuring instrument for the social organisation of the learning acts, in the first cycle[20]. Conceptualised in this way, the Council covers different moments of the week. The daily welcome moment is included in it. This moment is extended on Monday, when the weekly plan is mapped out. The Council also includes the daily balance point, at the end of each workday. Once a week, normally on a Friday, the Class Cooperative Council occupies the afternoon where individual work plans can be seen first, followed by the weekly Council where the class agenda is read and discussed along with the rest of the week's work.

As Oury said, the Council is certainly the most complex and difficult tool to manage, both for the group and for the teacher. Irene Santos (2004, p. 164) observed this Cooperative Class Council in the school in Outurela. She noticed how distressing it is for children not to have an infallible adult figure in front of them, with the ability and authority to resolve all conflicts simultaneously; there are moments of great internal tension, when the teacher consciously relinquishes the authority delegated to him by his superior and passes power to the collective of which he is a part.

From 2007, and with the academic work of Filomena Serralha, who for four years followed the regulatory discussing moments in Inácia Santana's classroom, the term *Council for Educational Cooperation* appears. Serralha (2007, p. 164) uses this term to refer to the council previously mentioned by Niza (1998b), which consists of partial moments and emphasises the daily half hour of '*reading, telling and showing*'. In this way, the conditions are available at school for the children to have a moment to participate responsibly and cooperatively in the activities organised by the group, regardless of their personal life story, says Serralha (p. 86 *)*. With the same name of *Council for Educational Cooperation* the author (p. 179) identifies the public space-time of the weekly group meeting, in which the group collegially manages everything that concerns it. All learning processes and social relationships flow from there.

It is in this context that as Vasquez and Oury (1967) and Pochet and Oury (1979)

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[19] While in Flandres (Belgium) we used the term *"Class Council"* in 1979 (Hermans, Macquoy *et.al.* 1981), I took over the term ***"assembleia"*** (class assembly) , which was in general use in the years 1986-1991, both in the MEM and in the *Voz do Operário do Operário*, to revert to the term *"Conselho de Turma"* (Class Council) in 1996 (Paulus, 2006).

[20] ***Translation note***: first cycle of primary school in Portugal. Corresponds to the first four years of primary school in most European countries. Until the right-liberal reforms of the first decade of this century, the general principle was one class — one teacher (graduated to work with first or first/second cycle).

did before, Serralha again focusses the importance of the law, other than a simple rule of conduct. The law obliges each individual in the group to engage in social relations with others. These relationships are directly related to the collective project that the group as a community designs (Serralha, 2001, p. 33). The group's work plan is its curriculum project and therefore includes discussion and explanation by all. For Serralha (2007, p. 161) it is about an effective social contract that is negotiated between members of the whole community.

The discussion of the praxis and the research devoted to it throughout the twentieth proves that in the context of the school there is the possibility of shaping social relations so the class is regarded as a space-time determined by the group that was forced to occupy it. This possibility opens the way for the actual learning of the exercise of power based on a clear social contract within the microcosm that this space-time represents.

The desire to know

Françoise Dolto (1967, p. 10) observes the 'skilling' of learning and speaks of this as a pedagogical deviation which amounts to gambling on the existence of a common rhythm of productivity aimed at a homogeneous level of intelligence to be updated. For this child psychiatrist, it is this school system that feeds powerful neuroses in so many children. Once the pedagogical aberration has been accepted, it is dead easy to make any school difficulty that children experience the result of a "deficient" adjustment of families to the school.

In schooled society, school achievement has become a criterion for evaluation and undergoes the obsessive cataloging by the elite in order to calculate the cost-effectiveness of schooling materials. The correlation between social background and learning difficulties at school leads to misunderstandings. Charlot (1997, p. 27) admits that school dropout "*has something to do*" with social origin, otherwise there would be no correlation between the two variables, but he is firm when he says that social origin does not produce school failure .
The aforementioned research led by Reuter (2007) confirms this statement. His team's research consisted of supervising the reorganisation of a school in a working-class neighbourhood from the suburbs, with high failure and attrition rates, near Lille, in the north of France. The observation with possible intervention was done at the request of the team of teachers who were all members of the *Institut Coopératif de l'École Moderne* (ICEM). Reuter puts it disturbingly simple established *"the student learns because he is protected and safe"* (2007, p. 24).

The safety Reuter talks about has to do with the conditions of physical well-being that are created within the school undergoing interventions through the already

mentioned Cooperative Council to ensure social relation in the playground and in the classroom, but more importantly also to give the sense of finding in learning challenges an intellectual pleasure that comes from wanting to participate in the outcome of a challenge that is now understood because it was given meaning.

It is here that it is worth visiting Vygotsky's concerns that arose from his research work in the first decades of the twentieth century, with which he elaborated the theory of social-historical learning :

> "To elaborate the dimensions of school learning, we will describe a new and extremely important concept, without which this problem cannot be solved: the zone of proximal development" (2007b, p. 95).

Vygotsky explains that developmental processes do not coincide with learning processes. Potential development needs an accompanying learning act to evolve from the real development. There is a permanent tension, whereby a learning act mediated by a teacher or fellow student can anticipate development, as long as the zone of proximal development is respected (2007b, pp. 100-105).

For Bruner (2007, p. 13) this is an extremely important concept enhancing ignorant learning subjects are capable of understanding given knowledge beyond themselves when supported by an expert, rather than left to themselves. The zone of proximal development draws attention to the dialogue between those who are better prepared and those who are less prepared.

Vygotsky's work is situated at the beginning of the time period Vasquez and Oury (1967, p. 77) evoke, when they recall the tailor-made school pedagogues like Claparède have been dreaming of since 1920. The authors question why it is that seldom the meaning of the organisation in which the teacher appeals to the average of the class to be contested. They also state that individualised work, which seems perfect on a theoretical level, has caught the attention of researchers. However, this has practical limits related to the need to have supporting material and the time to prepare this work. Individualisation assumes that every child has a desire to learn and progress, which may be a way of seeing the problem as solved. On the other hand, individual work pulverises the group and destroys the potentially useful dynamics to drive the "uninvolved" into collective activity. Individualised work through self-correcting assignments is mechanised work, useful perhaps, but not conducive to reasoning and thinking. For these reasons it is better to use this kind of self-correcting work only for what needs to be practiced, such as the few basic operations.

The authors indicate that they take heterogeneity as a starting point, with the intention of the equal school for all from the nineteenth century wanting to replace it with a school tailored to everyone. That is why they set up workspaces for

specific groups in the classroom together with groups for particular work, groups to manage the materials and space of the class group, all coordinated by the body of the class group to which everyone is a part: the cooperative council.

And as we've just seen, it's worth continuing to point out this aspect of cooperation. Drawing attention to the child's activity is not enough. Learning is not only the result of a process of self-training. It is the result of a dual process of self-study and co-operation. Vygotsky puts it this way :

> "all higher psyche-intellectual functions occur twice in the course of the child's development: the first time in social activities, that is, as *inter-psychic functions* ; the second, in individual activities, as internal properties of the child's thinking, that is, as *intra-psychic functions* " (1977, p. 46).

This aspect of the learning act suggests the importance of learning to negotiate something that Trindade and Cosme (2010) associate with the pedagogical communication paradigm. The effective management of communication circuits promotes the child's speech, which is as important to Vygotsky (2007b, p. 13) as the action to achieve a goal. They are speech and action, elements of the same complex psychological function, aimed at solving a given problem.

Vasquez and Oury maintain the child already has one of the means of communication whereas by the beginning of school age does not possess the other powerful tool of social communication that is writing. That will have to be learned with everything that comes with it. However, according to the authors, *"the child speaks and it is its knowledge of spoken language that will serve as a starting point for the acquisition of written language"* (1967, p. 36).

Besides suggesting the implementation of school shapes of social relations in which words and speech are used and expanded rather than suppressed, it is also appropriate here to speak of the need to look at the relationship with the content that is part of most school curricula. For Lahire (2008, p. 45) many of the pedagogical changes are limited to the nature of the acquired knowledge (alphabetical writing, spelling, grammar) and to the inseparable specific relationship with language.

According to Resweber (1988), institutional pedagogy claims maintaining the relationship between *seeing* and *knowing*, a relationship that the school must explain and master. To situate the concept of education, the author uses the Latin stem *educere*, just as Jacquard (1991, p. 179) does, and places it in relation to the verb *instituere* :

> "It should be remembered that the Latin etymology of the verb *instituere* (*statuere-in*: to place in, arrange, establish, organise), differs from that of the verb to instruct (*struere -in*: to build by collecting the layers, orderly arrangement, creating a plot) and refers to the most common form of organising, ordering and

> composing, because here the subject is forced to use a third party who, being transient, has to be renegotiated in the group. There is no learning act without possession in which the subject surprises himself with what is outside him, there is no education (*e-ducere :* lead out) without a process of *de-subjectification* for which writing is the paradigm, there is no subject being for-itself while outside-itself ."
>
> (Resweber, 1988: 59).

As already shown by Vygotsky (2007b, p. 125), when using writing as a means of communication there is an underlying learning process that differs from that when using spoken language. Like it or not, learning to write remains dependent on a teaching process that cannot be compared to the appropriation of spoken language, regardless of the read or write method used.

Written text requires a construction that can be most clearly described as a construction influenced by others. Sérgio Niza makes a point to this effect, in a conversation with Américo Peças (2006, p. 155) when he argues that there is always an interdiscursivity, an intertextuality, at the core of discourse. In other words, our speech and writing is always built on the speeches and writings of others.

Once the interaction to knowledge is associated with the desire to know, the desire to learn, it is clear that the fulfilment of this desire takes place through communication. Communication implies with the thinking of the subject wanting to inform the other and with the cooperative context where the other is wanting to know what his interlocutor has produced. Communication also involves mediation between the train of thought produced by the subject and the knowledge that lies outside him. This mediation becomes possible thanks to cooperation with the other. Therefore, the relationship between the subject and the world presents itself as a dialectical relationship.

Charlot (1997, p. 49) quotes Dubet's sociology of experience and is surprised that this sociology does not really go into on the confrontation with the knowledge necessary for children to learn, while children who through their action appropriate the world are permanently confronted with the question of knowledge. He concludes that it is necessary to work on a sociology of the subject that will have to enter into a critical dialogue with the human sciences, more specifically with psychology and anthropology. Charlot (1997, p. 73) continues that the subject of knowledge, the knowledge itself, exists only through a certain relationship with the world, which in turn is also in a relationship with the knowledge. This relationship with the world is a relationship with oneself, with language and with time.

The presence of the other is essential for the subject to be able to establish connection and interaction with knowledge external to him. When the other is a me-

diator in the learning process, his receptivity with regard to the learning subject is extremely important. Vygotsky (2007b, p. 100) therefore argues that human learning takes on a very precise social nature and is a process that enables children to penetrate the intellectual lives of those close to them.

But the process is not limited to interactions between a limited group of people who are directly present. The process extends to the world, which, as Charlot (1997) argues, is not confused by the subject. The world exists, existed before and will continue to exist. The subject has a momentary dynamic. For the subject, appropriating the world amounts to modelling and transforming it .

The social relationship with subject-actors and authors in the school context envisaged by the MEM ensures the interaction between the subject, the group and the world is built into the class-group projected proper curriculum.

The modern school movement and the school to read the world

The relationship with the world is not limited to understanding it, but also includes the possibility of developing activities, of dealing with knowledge, outside the subject and its known world. In a sentence that is difficult to translate, Charlot says:

> "To make clear the externality of the world in regard to the subject, I speak more of an "interaction or connection" to the knowledge than of a "relation" with the knowledge: the term "interaction or connection" better indicates that the subject composes with regard to something which is outside himself."[21] (1997, p. 91)

A pragmatic example of processes of cultural interaction using the deep intellectual exchange advocated by Vygotsky lies in the collective work of text correction by members of the group, both in the model of institutional pedagogy and of the MEM, both with adults and with children. The social importance attached to writing, through reports of visits, publications, research work and even inter-school correspondence, also exposes the intended cultural interaction. In the case of correspondence, Vasquez and Oury point out that the farther the place of origin of the correspondents is the richer: *"it is interesting having two groups belonging to very different geographical environments, in order to increase interest"* (1967, p. 37). More generally, freed from underlying schooling or didactic reasons, Sérgio Niza urges a school that is connected with the world, learning to deal with what is complex :

[21] Original in French: " C'est pour bien marquer cette extériorité du monde e du sujet que je parle de "rapport" au savoir, plutôt que de "relation" au savoir: le term "rapport" indique mieux que le sujet se rapporte à quelque chose qui lui est extérieur."

> "We need a school that penetrates the world of everyday culture and that recognises how it is customary to solve authentic problems of life. I think of a school that welcomes the richness of the diverse (and the complex) and learns to build itself as a result of this challenge" (2012, p. 134).

The relationship of the subject with the other, with the world and the interaction with knowledge, to use the words of Charlot (1997), through a school shape of learning, constitutes a challenge that involves a continuous reflection on that same school shape whereby currently socio-cultural theory serves as support.

For Touraine (1996, pp. 114-122) there is still the idea, inherited from the Enlightenment, that thanks to education children leave their environment of origin and develop a universal vision. According to the author, circles that opposed the beliefs and the tradition of domineering local notables, cultivated the idea of a strong state, which would lead to an education conducting *"from faith to reason and from identity to democracy"* (1996, *p* . 114). The general view of evolving from particularism to universalism, the author explains, manifests itself in two particular manners: the first, liberal, shows a closed society evolving towards an open society, from control to freedom. The second shows the transition from absolute power to democratic (representative) power. For Touraine, both views exclude the notion of identity, which recurs in two ways:

- On the one hand, there is a in crisis behaviour ambiguous form visible in what Touraine calls the counter-offensive movement, sometimes symbolised by proposals for regional self-management. This counter-offensive action has less to do with identity than with political action, in defence of local and traditional elites. In other crisises where defensive populist and collective behaviour occurs identity does come forward for example using biology to prove the superiority of a race, ethnic group or nation.
- On the other hand, when the defensive appeal to identity is directed not against the power that destroys this identity, but against the capacity for autonomous intervention, we have an offensive force. In this case, for Touraine, one moves from the defence of a traditional identity to a social movement identity, which defines itself with a principle of action towards the interdependence of several complementary principles.

The development of a school shape of social relations that interacts with other social practices, where welcoming diversity in the class-group is an important step, is a political option. When diversity is effectively accepted, negotiation ensues. When this negotiation is based on a horizontal proposal , ie non-hierarchical authority relations, then the group institutes itself.

The instituting group , which has the character of a learning community, can then

develop a pedagogical project in which the insistence on the production of authentic products with social relevance and the proposal to evaluate the process on the basis of those productions are the guiding principles. This characterises the school shape of social relations between subject-authors learning through production which in turn arises from the relations the group enters into with the information available intramurally and extramurally, creating a questioning relationship with science and knowledge. A school shape with these characteristics must focus on democratic governance.

The path the MEM followed was one of explaining the work of the teacher, and so the organisation has tried from the beginning to encourage members to organise groups. According to Pedro González, MEM teachers want to learn for themselves:

> "In essence, thinking about pedagogical practice becomes the decisive learning of the development of pedagogy intended. It is about building the profession, which involves the development of skills that make it possible to *assign names to reality*, that is to say, that make it possible to "*learn to say the profession*"." (2002, p. 161).

A clear concern that crosses the thinking of many of the first members of the MEM is portrayed by González: thinking together is very important and its lack can weaken the collective conscience about the social contract endangering teachers who adopt this line of work. The author writes:

> "The lack of reflection on the work done carries the risk that the teaching activity will turn into a meaningless job or at least fall into a meaningless routine: '... *if in fact we cannot describe or understand a particular practice, it can escape us, as if it is indifferent to do this or that'* (Sérgio Niza, 9/24/98) .
> Sérgio Niza also warns us about the risk that may exist in emphasising a fundamentalist dimension that could possibly underlie the theoretical support of the movement: ' ***...it would be dangerous to turn to a catechism*** *and the action into a catechetical operation..."* (9/24/98)."
>
> (*idem* , p. 162).

González recalls that this has remained in focus since the beginning of this organisation of teachers. He explains that what was initially an empirical view of learning, influenced by Freinet's experimental trial and error, evolved into *"a perspective of the development of learning based on social-centred interaction"* (idem, p. 195), very much in agreement with Vygotsky and Bruner. This takes into account the socio-cultural heritage to be rediscovered through the interaction of the group of adults and children.

In an interview with Pedro González, Sérgio Niza argues that for him, more than practical things, which dazzle at the beginning but are too strongly marked by time, the really important for Freinet was to create a pedagogical movement among teachers:

> "Because no one had brought teachers together before, or even at the same time, and created a pedagogical movement. Only him and no one else did this. The others, from New Education League, are people from the university who hire the teachers and work with them. But they are university researchers. Here, as he said, it is a grassroots movement and that is true" (*idem* , p. 197).

González recalls the words of the university researcher Nóvoa, spoken on July 30, 1996, at the opening of the Congress when the MEM celebrated its thirtieth anniversary, He linked to the past of the association the contributions of Rui Grácio, Maria Amália Borges de Medeiros or João dos Santos. He also cited Portuguese pedagogues associated with the New Education League or New School Movement. Among this group of thinkers and practitioners, says González, the MEM still highlights the work of António Sérgio, considered by Sérgio Niza as one of his sources in the first moments of the MEM:

> "For example, he admits that the words of António Sérgio contributed to his first experiences of the school community he organised with his students in Évora." (*idem* , p. 201).

From school community, general assembly, cooperative council or cooperative class council, in which the internal organisation of the group is central, evolves the Council, the Council for Educational Cooperation, which successively expands educational action. The academic form of the school or class changes definitively when the teacher rejects the hierarchical Lassallian micro-power in favour of a negotiated micro-power, in a horizontal, regulated relation. The notion of educational cooperation evolves and broadens in the pedagogical communication paradigm. It goes from the socio-centric view that largely focus on the space-time of the group itself, towards a cultural and socio-historical approach to the learning act. The interactive cultural space-time, in which the interpellation is not limited to space-time itself, but expands, in ever larger circles, leads to a more in-depth reading of the world and the consequent intervention in it.

Learning in cooperation

Inspired by the socio-historical learning theory (Case, 2000), the pedagogical communication paradigm (Trindade and Cosme, 2010) advocates that learning is the result of subject interpellation among themselves and with the world, in a regulated universe.

We see this, for example, in the aforementioned study by Reuter (2007). As a result of his observations in the school he refers to as *"set in a popular area"* with teachers from the ICEM, Reuter notes, *"the child learns because it has the opportunity to situate itself in history"* (2007, p. 25). He notes that everyone has their place to

work but can always count on everyone's support. In the same sense, Marpeau (2010), who commonly uses the term *"self-construction"* when talking about the growing child that creates bonds among what is needed to develop through the confrontation with the unknown and to learn with each challenge posed. The experiences of accepting and establishing relationships with the other are essential to overcome moments of uncertainty. Marpeau focuses mainly on what he calls the interactive dimension of self-construction and states that the relationship with others includes the psychological and social enabling processes that *"shape the dynamics of discovery and acquisitions performed by the 'self-educator'."* (2010, p. 152).

Cooperation is anchored in the genesis of institutional pedagogy. Class work articulates with anything that can be learned outside the classroom and with organised visits, followed by moments of processing and interpretation, usually in cooperation. The definition of *Institutional Pedagogy* has evolved since its appearance and ten years after being baptised that way by Jean Oury. Vasquez and Oury (1967, p. 145) consider institutional pedagogy as a whole of techniques, organisations, working methods, internal institutions, born of the practice of active classes. The authors argue that this places children and adults in new and varied situations, each of which requires personal commitment, initiative, action and continuity. They view institutional pedagogy from two angles:

- From a static point of view: as the sum of the resources deployed to bring about all kinds of activities and exchanges, *inside and outside* the classroom space.
- From a dynamic point of view: as a transformative flow of work *within* the classroom and school .

They believe that technical changes, inter-individual relations as well as group relations, on conscious and unconscious levels create situations that favour the structuring of the environment through varied and variable institutions, communication and exchange. In the classroom — the authors emphasise that they would much prefer to write *at school* — which has been converted into a place of activity and exchange, it is now really necessary to understand, decide, know how to speak, read, write and count.

The French institutionalists split between those who concentrate on the physical institution and interpret the necessary de-schooling of society in the sense of a utopia of a society without schools, and those who focus on the school shape in such a way that in the classroom the status of power and authority changes, as does the connection with knowledge.

Hess (1975, p. 42) uses for instance Lapassade's words to criticise Vasquez and Oury. Using the terms decay and de-schooling as harbingers that mean for him the disappearance of the school institution, he considers that the succession from

active school to Freinet's methods, followed by institutional pedagogy, are nothing more than reformist actions not questioning the school.

Without further quarrelling, it is necessary to establish that school exists and that it can be analysed from its dimension of institution, organisation and shape. This dimension shape has sustainable variants other than just the shape cited by those in power and their critics. As González (2002, p. 123) points out, Sérgio Niza emphasises that teachers who are members of the MEM had already made the shift in 1970 from the child-centred models as developed by the League for New Education to a socio-centric model. On institutional pedagogy in general, and Fernand Oury in particular, Sérgio Niza writes:

> "With him we shared the first steps of the MEM and discovered the edifying and socialising value of the Council that we call Council for Educational Cooperation. With this we emphasise the formative power of this structure of analysis and cooperation. Oury preferred to value the Council in its role as a mediating and therapeutic institution through the common handling of the word." (1998a, p.3).

Two lines of work developed in the French ICEM after the death of Célestin Freinet. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, these translate into two starting points for educational action: one closer to Freinet's *child-centring*, the other closer to the *socio-centring* to which institutional pedagogy tends. Filomena Serralha notes that, in a way, this happened half a century earlier in the Portuguese group shortly after Oury founded the institutional pedagogy group and:

> "who has since come to exert a great deal of influence on the Portuguese movement. This repercussion was so strong that as early as 1966 the ideas of the Portuguese group were inspired by the institutionalists. Due to their influence, the Portuguese group quickly distanced itself from what had been its working matrix until then: the Freinet pedagogy." (2007, p. 134).

By studying Vygotsky's writings, MEM teachers will find in socio-historical theory the tool that will enhance their understanding of *praxis* what will facilitate and enable its continuous evolution.

As a school shape of social relations develops that seeks interaction with other social forms, the complexity of the situation requires more attention in formulation and discussion, especially with children, whose learning is identified as based on the production of original works as close as possible to reading the world without school filters. For a child to speak, it must have a space, a time and one or more interlocutors, or in Vygotsky's words:

> "The more complex the action required by the situation, the less immediate the solution, and the more importance the discussion takes on in the operation as a whole. Sometimes the discussion becomes so important that if the

> use of speech is not allowed, young children cannot resolve the situation." (2007b, p. 13).

Not all school shapes of social relations consider cooperative learning to be necessary. In the pedagogical instructional paradigm (Trindade and Cosme, 2010), making groups homogeneous is essential because the learning act is the result of a hierarchical relationship with authority. The learning child is the object of the teacher's relationship with knowledge. The teacher provides information using didactic artefacts developed on the assumption that a homogeneous audience will be able to understand him. Here, differentiation consciously becomes an act of classification, normalisation, and separation of people to organise them into groups created for this purpose.

In a very different way, the pedagogical communication paradigm provides another understanding of learning and cooperating. The differentiation between people here is not a conscious act of segregation, but support the reading of the diverse, proper to being. The existing differentiation between people is the basis of work, the vehicle for cooperation and is closely related to the concept of the zone of proximal development: it is the distance between the actual level of development, which is usually determined by independent problem solving, and the level of potential development, determined by solving problems in collaboration with others, to return to Vygotsky's words (*idem* , p. 97).

Cooperative learning does not mean there are no individualised working moments. Niza (2012), in an editorial of the magazine *Escola Moderna,* discusses the time for autonomous study (TAS), which, like all the work of each member of the group, is regulated by an individual work plan and is carried out in the classroom during school hours, because there and at that time the resources are available for the necessary support to carry out those tasks. In these circumstances it is even possible with the teacher or among colleagues occasionally renegotiate support. The status of everyone's work is registered collectively in order, as Sérgio Niza (2012, p. 612) points out, to counteract unwanted individualistic deviations in a cooperative culture.

Learning through production

With the hypothesis of a *continuum* of school shapes, I relate the school shapes of social relations between subject-authors to the pedagogical communication paradigm, one of the three paradigms proposed by Trindade and Cosme (2010). The socio-historical theory, as elaborated by American psycho-educators, or the sociocultural theory as it is referred to in Europe, and associated with this paradigm explains that children do not learn through action alone — as constructivist theo-

ries had already shown — but produce knowledge through action **and** interaction: interaction with the other, interaction with knowledge and science, interaction with the world.

To achieve this production that supports learning, it is necessary to authentically welcome children's creative capacity and their readiness for action. Production also implies respect for work partners, who, as they are involved in the action, must have a personal space to store the objects they consider indispensable for their work with the group, which may not be obvious, in a classroom with scarce storage space. As an example, and because children had nowhere to store items on desks or tables, Vasquez and Oury (1967, p. 70) argue that, just as in kindergarten, they should have a place, a drawer or small locker where they can store their treasures. This is an inviolable space, which even the teacher can only access with the permission of the owner.

To create the essential conditions to, as Freinet said *"to be engaged in life"*, an expression adopted by Vasquez and Oury (*idem,* p. 201), the rural schoolmaster ensures that the schoolwork not only reflects the experiences of children and people of the village, but also from that of the correspondents. The authors (1967, p. 42) consider editing and publishing from the classroom a milestone. The class newspaper is a step forward in pedagogy: children's thinking is given a social existence.

The concept of reading the world continues to develop inside the MEM, first by integrating the notion of institutional group, combining elements of institutional pedagogy with the first elaborated concept based on Freinet, then with the adoption of Vygotsky's socio-historical theory. A framework emerges in which the interactions necessary for the production, the interpretation of the world and the intervention in it find their place, accelerating, as Sérgio Niza says, the whole contemplation of the practice :

> "In this way, in the MEM in Portugal, the critical exercise on our pedagogical practices and on Freinet's pedagogical ideas is accelerated, in a constant coming and going between educational practice and self-learning practice in cooperation, an isomorphic process of pedagogical development that has always characterised our action." (2012: 411).

As we will see in *Memories at the shadow of the Fig Tree*, the period analysed in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is situated at a time of important conceptual evolutions, such as the transition from the *General Assembly* to the Council for Educational Cooperation, also reflecting on the management of space and time, which has implications for the organisation of work teams, the role of those responsible and the management of tasks.
The work outside the classroom and a high level of involvement in long-term pro-

jects are in the period studied of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* clearly visible.

More recent case studies and practice descriptions show the projects that connect the classroom to the rest of the world, involving direct interaction with a distant (Paulus, 2004) or nearby community. The intervention of Granja[22] class (Correia, 2012) is a good example of what this reading the world and intervening in it means. In this classroom with children from 7 to 10 years old poorly housed Roma children ask why their clandestine houses were demolished. From this, the group develops a research work that will lead to the mobilisation of various agencies, exceeding all expectations of children and teacher, as the teacher herself explains (idem, p. 35). After being introduced to the children's work by television and the High Council for Minorities, they are offered housing with their parents and their families in a controlled-rent district of the capital.

In general, and for those who work in education and are interested in developing a school shape of social relations between subject-actors and subject-authors, the interaction with the group and with the world is linked to the reflection of the educators themselves. Francis co Marcelino says about this:

> "The MEM has moved away from the original matrix and is charting its own paths based on the teaching practice of its members, anchored in a perspective of continuous education and integration of the new that humanity in general and communities in particular manage to create" (2002, p. 50).

In what is called the isomorphic process, the guidance for understanding teaching work in cooperative self-study groups corresponds to the guidance for understanding in the classroom. Intervention in the school, not only as an *actor*, but also as an *author*, is considered an act of conscious citizen intervention. Sergio Niza (2012, p. 528) testifies to his experience of more than 40 years of interacting with many teachers. As he himself says, the work of cooperative self-education, typical of the MEM, promotes a militant citizenship committed politically to school education.

The reflections of this group of professionals make the school shape of learning dynamic and diverse. The image of a homogenised and static school shape is eliminated and the whole palette of variants is revealed. Filomena Serralha (2007, p. 159) links this dynamic form to added value of the research projects that children and adults collectively negotiate and carry out, with the great desire to improve aspects of their culture and to modify or supplement them in certain ways.

The production of authentic (intellectual) works, in combination with negotiated arrangements around their creation, allows for interaction with the other and with knowledge, as well as an intelligible reading of the world.

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[22] Rural neighbourhood of a suburb of Lisbon

School shapes of social relations between subject-authors at the pole of the *continuum* of school shapes opposite to the family of school shapes of social relations with subject-objects are based on permanent negotiation in relation to the organisation of space and time. The act of learning arises from the production of original works as the fruit of the desire to interpret the world on the basis of the available information, leading to individual and collective knowledge, consciously establishing an epistemic, identity and social interaction with knowledge (Charlot, 1997).

Discussions and morphological suggestions

In the previous points I have developed the idea that there is not a static school shape of social relations, but that a dynamic variation of pedagogical paradigms along with the variation of possible relations with power and knowledge, the shape of school and of social relations determines and is determinate by the microcosm of the class group.

The relationship with power and authority that we find in any classroom is related to the adult's understanding of his role as a teacher and thus determines the course of action and his relationship with the students. In a crystallised school shape the interaction with knowledge and science flows from this relationship and is subject to the installed routines. The relationship with authority presents itself as a relationship where the teacher is a kind of reprogrammable interface that translates a scientific selection of information and knowledge to receiving students, making it difficult to simply move from one pedagogical paradigm to another. Jean Houssaye (2004, p. 38) makes this observation when looking at the sustainable instructional paradigm. He emphasises how the institution promotes the organisation of programmes, grades and exams throughout its operation and how it guarantees the culture to be transferred. That is precisely why in this paradigm everything is built around the relationship between the teacher and knowledge and science. He ends his reasoning and places the teachers he calls '*real pedagogues*' on another sustainable path, precisely because of the conviction of those following and advocating that path.

Theorising the practice arising from the musings of just over twenty 19th and 20th century pedagogues, as presented by Houssaye (1994; 1996) in two books, is a continuous and difficult process. Without this constant theorising teachers relation with power modeled according to the unchanged and not explicit hegemonic school shape of social relations is maintained. In addition, educators without the necessary investigative attitude towards the *practice* can be trapped in what Macedo (2008, p. 15) calls a false dialogue — in relation to some of Paulo Freire's followers — by distorting the main ideas of this important educator to a method.

In this pedagogical entry I have emphasised the social-historical or social-cultural learning theory. That is necessary to situate and understand the school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, not with the limiting vision as an ex-institution alternative to a supposedly natural and immutable school shape, but with the perception that it is one of the many school shapes of social relations. All these school shapes are registered in the *continuum* that I propose, which is defined by different kinds of relationship with the micro-power, ranging from a hierarchical and pyramidal relation imposed from outside to the group to a horizontal and regulated relations within the established brotherhood .

The school shapes of social relations that I have termed the Lassallian type tend to set up learning procedures in which students are objects of a relationship between the teacher and knowledge, and in certain circumstances the teachers themselves become subject-object of the transferable to-carry-out-knowledge. That is the case for any *teacher-proofed* program. Those school shapes are located at one of the poles of the proposed *continuum*. At the other pole are the school shapes of social relations of the fraternal group, which institute space, time, and project, thus facilitating the performance of the acting subjects, authors of their learning process. Between the poles are school shapes of social relations with subject-actors that are activity and experiment led by a controlling teacher who possibly negotiates the tasks individually with his pupils.

The interaction with other forms of social relations typical of the society of the written word, as well as with the other oral social forms, determines how new learners think about power, its use and its influence on the interaction with knowledge. That interaction is non-existent when the school shape is completely closed in on itself. It gains existence as soon an interactive cultural space develops. This interactive space facilitates learning processes through the production of authentic cultural works, while a school shape with a pedagogical instructional model leads to learning routines that prepare the subsequent production.

The production of authentic cultural works is related to understanding what learning means. So it is not indifferent to distinguish a ***learning procedure*** from a ***learning process.*** According to Marpeau,

> "A learning procedure is understood as the investigation of successive operations to be followed in a certain space and time that allow the visualisation and mastery of a correct procedure to solve a problem whose solution is already known in advance . This procedure is based on reducing the complicated to the simple thanks to knowledge about the constituent elements that make up a system, about the system itself and about the way of organisation of the elements. Memorising and applying a procedure makes it possible to control operations and their results through a series of operations. This can be effectively

> applied to technical operations; [...] The study of human processes must take into account the unconscious, the desire, the different intentions and the feedbacks of information that change the place of the actors in the collective system. Therefore, ***education is part of a process and not of a learning procedure***[23]. Conceived as a praxis, where the subject in the midst of the elaborations that concern him, education cannot eliminate the complexity of what lives, nor can it be conceived or deduced from the application of procedures. (2002, p. 51).

It would be too easy to limit oneself to a proposal to destroy or change the shape. It is not about reshaping and reforming and the discussion about who is more or less reformist, about who reforms more or less, nor about announcing the end of the school and its shape — the hegemonic school shape that is — with its disappearance. This means that it is not about "inventing" alternatives either. The scriptural shape of socialisation and learning (Vincent *et al.* , 1994) integrates and organises today's society. As I have argued, that shape (singular) is characterised by through certain school shapes (plural) of social relations, within the context of an institution that humans have created for making it a learning place for children and young people.

Just like the institution in which the shape establishes, it is by itself a cultural construction. Any cultural construction is therefore different from a natural phenomenon because it is an agreed and discussable construction. The *continuum* of school shapes of social relations gives rise to the study of different pedagogical paradigms, element of an 'grammar of schooling' to use once more the metaphor of Tyack and Tobin (1994), but now in their interpretation of '*descriptive grammar*', sketching a *comparative grammar* of the learning and teaching act with associated syntax and not in their *normative* and restrictive interpretation.

One of the dimensions of the school is its shape. *In extremis,* each singular school announces its own singular school shape of social relations. Each of these school shapes differs from each other by three elements of variation: the relationship with power, the relationship with knowledge and the pedagogical paradigm. The school shape is a specific shape of social relationship because it presents itself in a specific educational space-time with a group of people who generally did not choose it voluntarily, with a rule the legal power over the group was placed in the hands of the adults who can eventually decide for themselves how to use this power.

Social relations at school are influenced not only by the way adults view authority , but also by how they perceive their role as educators in the broadest sense. Marie Christine Josso (2008, pp. 118-119) draws four types teachers: on the *education* side, she places the figure of *instructor* and *militant*, on the *formation* side she pla-

[23] Featured by me.

ces the figure of *master* and of *router*. Each of them relate in a different way to the power entrusted to them and to the relationship they enter into with knowledge. The school shape of social relations is sufficiently permeable to allow teacher positions and choices. In its hegemonic version, the central power attempts to forcibly unite those positions and choices into one common attitude by imposing rules and procedures. By checking it and its ubiquity, this school shape serves as a basis for the analysis of school shapes in general. Partly because of its ubiquity, there is a risk that it will become naturalised, and then its description is norm.

But as we saw earlier, the school shape is the dimension of the school that carries the pedagogical paradigm that the central, local or regional power, the organising body of the school or class, has appropriated. That is why when discussing the shape, pedagogy comes up. And that is the reason why the discussion of the school shape includes the pedagogical analysis in addition to the analysis of the relation with power and knowledge.

As soon the school has been generalised in society, variants of the school shape of social relations emerged, to the extent that conscious teachers and educators question what constitutes learning from the relation with power and what interaction an individual has with knowledge.

Under the pedagogical instruction paradigm or the learning paradigm (Trindade and Cosme, 2010) and the many variants of teacher-oriented or child-oriented proposals (Altet, 1999) that accompany it, I include proposals that are not discussed here, such as that of the Waldorf school, developed by Rudolf Steiner, or the Jenaplan schools, based on the ideas of Peter Petersen, and which certainly deserve their place when we deal with the school shape.
The child-centred school shape proposals of the New Education (or the New School) developed hand in hand with the Lassallian teacher-centred shape. In the early twentieth century, when the mass school appears in different parts of the world, there are the experimental schools such as the one led by Faria de Vasconcelos in Belgium, or the workshop schools and the working models of Claparède or Ferrière.
Close to the new education movement, the *Centres d'Entrainement aux Méthodes d'Education Active* (Ceméa or CEMEA[24]) develop and discuss the organisation of work in the classroom, ie the relation to knowledge which they propose in to be implemented in school.

In the spheres of the pedagogical learning paradigm or communication paradigm (Trindade and Cosme, 2010) and on the borderline between child-centred and

[24] The Centers themselves use both abbreviations .
Information on the website http://www.cemea.asso.fr/ (accessed 16-12-2012).

social-centred propositions (Altet, 1999), we find school shapes of social relations that vary among themselves and with the hegemonic form in how the relationship with authority is managed on micro scale.
At the beginning of the twentieth century, Pistrak developed the work school, where the children's collective takes on part of the school management and is encouraged to self-organise guided by the educator. At the beginning of the twenty-first century this heritage influences the debates within the Brazilian Movement of Landless Farm Workers as it bows about the school she wants to organise. This interested Luiz Carlos de Freitas, researcher of early twentieth century Soviet pedagogues[25].

The Odenwald school, mentioned by Candeias, Nóvoa and Figueira (1995: 21) when talking about the school and the attraction of nature, the aversion to book learning and the ideology of the libertarian left, develops a co-management function of the students. The children's meetings at Neill's (1970a) on Summerhill set the rules of the school.
Both at in one school as in the other there is no homogenising end class system. We find this organisational proposal modernised in the school shape of the Portuguese Escola Básica de São Tomé de Negrelos, better known as *Escola da Ponte*.

Depending on how a country organises its school network, the coexistence of different school shapes of social relations is more or less encouraged. In the Netherlands, the school network includes schools with specific pedagogical projects. Examples are the *Freinet schools*, the *Steiner schools* or the *Jenaplan schools*. The Flemish school network (Belgium) consists of official schools with different school shapes.

In concentration-based systems, school shapes of different social relationships continue to exist side by side. In the French centralised education system, Célestin Freinet's evolution from New Education to the *École Populaire* and the creation of the successive movements *Imprimerie à l'école*, *Cooperative de l'École Laique* (CEL) evolves to ICEM proposing school shapes in which the relationship with power takes on the characteristics of cooperation.
More generally, the *Féderation Internationale des Mouvements de l'École Moderne* (FIMEM) first brought together associations of teachers from several European countries and later from other continents, currently from twenty-eight countries[26].

The visible and long-term coexistence of school shapes of social relations which for one reason or another turned out to be durable makes possible the mutual debate, and often the debate about the evolution of a particular shape or family

[25] Freitas talks about the MST's interest in Pistrak in an interview published on https://pt.scribd.com/doc/65914798/4-Entrevista-Luis-Carlos-de-Freitas (accessed 22/08/2023).

[26] Information on the FIMEM website: http://www.fimem-freinet.org/ (accessed 22/08/2023).

thanks to the work of pedagogues.

The Institutional Pedagogy, which emerged in the mid-twentieth century, as well as the Modern School Movement of Portugal, have both organised a network of nuclei into cooperative working groups and self-study cooperative groups respectively.

In the United States of America and in South America, the discussion of school shape first features the contributions of Dewey, and later those of Freire and Illich, which find their expression in critical constructivism (Paraskeva (org.), 2008; Zinn and Macedo, 2007). From Úcar (2010, 2011) comes a contribution with the pedagogy of choice.

Altet (1999) brings together different currents under the name pedagogies, a term I prefer to use in the singular. After all, these are currents that analyse the pedagogical relationship in a certain way and that delineate variants of the school shape of social relations. The synthesis Rui Trindade and Ariana Cosme (2010) make proposes three pedagogical paradigms to situate the arsenal of modes of action: the instructional paradigm, the learning paradigm and the communication paradigm. Under varying syntax, the pedagogical paradigms that vary from one family of social relations school shapes to another suggest a *comparative* and *non-normative grammar of schooling* or schooled learning. In this context, the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is an example of a school shape with a certain pedagogical paradigm and with a specific and sustainable syntax, as can be read below.

Far from being uniform, the school shape exhibits a multitude of shapes of social relations, several of which are actively reflected by the protagonists of the action in an evolutionary dynamic rich in discussion and dialogue. But for the dialogue to be useful , Vasquez and Oury (1967, p. 262) warn, it is good to also talk about what is happening in society at the time of the discussion. And for these authors in 1967 in France, prior to any discussion, this meant (1) the recognition of the existence of the barracks school and (2) the precise knowledge of the possibility of action.
They also remember that at that time and since 1923, the official authorities demand active education. Vasquez and Oury argue that it is necessary to understand if and when the discourse is falsified, if and when it is ambiguous in relation to that obscure object identified by Torres Santomé (1995) as the hidden curriculum.

Paraskeva (2008, p. 136), researcher on curriculum, considers the debates surrounding it are related to the transformations experienced in societies. Therefore, they include the necessary rethinking of relationships between the school and its representatives, but also between all those involved in the learning and teaching process.

The starting point for the discussion of the school shape is therefore in 2013, and in educated nation states, such as in Portugal, no different from the one for Vas-

quez and Oury was in 1967. After recognising the existence of a hegemonic, normative and instructive school shape, it is today also necessary to know what official instructions mean and how the official discourse is confirmed or contradicted in the action of a school group or a specific school.

As shown by Vincent *et al.* (1994: 15), the school shape of learning is a configuration of social relations, which includes the interaction between the master (not in a craft but in a specific learning space) and the learner, called pedagogical relation, a human construct that arises at a precise historical moment. According to the authors, the socio-genetic analysis of the school shape as a shape of social relations makes it possible to reveal the deep connections between school and written culture in a social-historical whole.

The social meaning of writing in school, since kindergarten, goes far beyond the reductive game of coding phonemes, but strives to be a real speech drawing, to again to use the words of Vygotsky, and this speech drawing compels to discuss the text resulting from the transcription of the speeches of those who make up the group, in order to correct it, to make it bearer of the ideas of the new generation of men and women. As Sérgio Niza (2012, p. 523) says, despite all the metamorphoses of the school, the function of writing remains, *"as the backbone"* that initiates the cultural activities necessary for the representation of the all living worlds.

The school and the class, seen from this angle, represent the social relations through which the work is carried out through the dialogue and its joint projection. The power relation is not vertical, hierarchical, neither "*top-down*" nor "*bottom-up*" but is a negotiating relation, between project partners with their own mutually differing authority. Critical constructivism places in the school shape this negotiating element around power as which also interferes with the established interaction with knowledge as opposed to the hierarchical power relationship. The pedagogues on whom Rui Trindade and Ariana Cosme (2010) rely for the pedagogical communication paradigm propose conceptual and practical tools that make this negotiation transparent for all participants and thus form a working basis for a school shape of social relations based on criteria and rules drawn up by the concerned groups.

Aronowitz and Giroux join this line of reasoning when they say that theory and teaching practice are given value for teachers and students when they create conditions to *"understand schools as public spheres devoted to expressions of personal and social withdrawal"* (1992, p. 152).

The repossession, the active appropriation of the public sphere, the participation in the modern *agora* is done through writing. Nothing but the concept of school as a public space involves the discussion of its dimension of shape, and therefore

also writing. Literacy is always part of any school curriculum. As we have seen, learning is a process rather than a procedure and when talking about writing this is meaningful. Vygotsky (2000b, p. 127) noted that the history of written language development in children has many discontinuities. Using written language is not a purely evolutionary procedure with gradual accumulations and small changes. This, according to Vygotsky, naive view of the evolution of writing in children can hide the true nature of the process of learning to write.

In institutional pedagogical groups and those among MEM members, writing is not just a concern in the classroom with the children. The discussion of the profession happens through the discussion of what is written by those who participate in these groups. Then it becomes very clear that once a social meaning is given to writing in school through the collective work on original texts of the authors of the class, their publication and the exchange with the correspondents with whom those authors communicate, this whole process does not may be delayed by mechanical procedures typical of educational instruction.

In discussing the school shape of social relations, that is, in discussing the relationship with power and the interaction with knowledge within the microcosm of the classroom and, by extension, the school, the way is opened to '*thawing*'. This is what Jorge Ramos Do Ó (2012, p. 36) says, when citing the writing of Sérgio Niza. For the author *thawing* means reject school didactics and fleeing from any caricatural and meaningless kind of action that often has a school context is imposed.

The concern about a school shape characterised by horizontal power relation and a relation to knowledge by sharing production, but above all to better understand the way of dealing with this shape, calls for permanent consideration and discussion. The provisional definition of institutional pedagogy, in the 1999 version drawn up by Jean Oury ((Paulus, 2006, p. 308), explains the continuing need for this discussion, by the sentence: *"It is not about a method...It is as much characterised by the questions it raises as by the answers it brings about".* Because citizenship and democracy at school are not a learning topic, but a condition for successful learning, Oury argues that school *"requires skilled teachers and therefore a real formation towards this mastery, continuously, in groups, with others: a personal and professional transformation"* (***idem,*** p, 309). For Sérgio Niza (2012, pp. 599-615), this personal and professional transformation happens through professional communities of practice. Within the MEM, these communities take the form of self-study cooperative groups that aim at the pedagogical isomorphism between formation and educational practice. The relation to knowledge is constructed dialectically. Sérgio Niza recalls the words of one of the founding members of the MEM, Júlia Soares, who noted that teachers in the MEM have an instituted model for instituting practice

allowing for continuous deconstruction and reconstruction. The constant regenerative capacity and continuous reflection make the working groups interactive time spaces where the pedagogical culture is practiced. Similarly, the reflection on the classroom project of the children and their teacher implies the existence of this space-time at school.

Interactive cultural space-time.

Martuccelli (2000) explains that communal culture is established through a set of rules, norms and values, and that society assumed the school as the holder of the role of fabricating social individuals within a given culture. For the author, it was this aspect of the school that gave the education system its *raison d'être*. Socialisation has always been conceived as a highly institutional intervention, leading to the internalisation by the individual of patterns of behaviour and norms common to society or a specific group. And for Martuccelli (2000, p. 311), this institutional conception of socialisation was questioned in two ways, by the phenomenon of *deinstitutionalisation* and the *standardisation* of the stages of social life.

Deinstitutionalisation transforms the concept of socialisation where norms and values are no longer entities to make social co-productions transcendent to individuals, and that changes the significance of the school in the process of socialisation. The actor acts by his own decision and not as a result of consensus or motivation, the author continues. The actor's learning stems precisely from the fact that he no longer views socialisation as a 'passive' one-way process. The school is no longer a social machine that spreads from top to bottom, but is transformed into a container of social personalities, through rituals and roles (*idem* , p. 313). For Martuccelli, research has shown that actors become subjects (I would say authors) of their learning act in function of the educational and social resources at their disposal.

The second declension, the *standardisation* involves the adjustment of schooled education that today is still a route made up of consecutive testing. At present, the author argues, the individual is forced to discover "the class assigned to him" for himself. The individualisation of possible trajectories is characterised by sequential models and the time-bound profile of individual trajectories becomes the determining criterion for the individual's social opportunities .

The author identifies mutations with autonomous evolutions in the functions of the school. Those mutations are not necessarily linked to each other; the intellectual implosion of the school's function in relation to social domination naturally attracts attention. The preservation of the value of education as an element for modernisation and a profound transformation of institutional socialisation is a

double process at the level of social representation: on the one hand, the school ceases to leave its normative imprint and on the other hand it won't be more than one among other links, albeit important, in a standardised life chain.

Faced with the transformations to which the school is subject, discussions of methods and didactic procedures divert attention from the central debate related to the school shape of social relations and its contribution to the elaboration and re-elaboration of interactions between citizens of a democratic society. The discussions about methods are sterile and purely rhetorical. They do not deal with the essence of the school shape of social relations, but with the consequences of some particular way of establishing a pedagogical relationship. But, as Pochet and Oury point out,

> "Big people like to play Almighty God: '*The Good on my right, the Bad on my left'.* Selection criteria are defined, oriented, reformed, structured: there are lots of ways to have fun. There are even those who call the various dumping classes where the school deposits its waste 'levelling classes'! 'Levelled' or not, classes always want to be homogeneous."[27] (1979, p. 42)

The hegemonic school shape of social relations with subject-objects is based on a hierarchical relation with power and an epistemic relation with knowledge. This double dependency requires homogeneous groups based on knowledge assimilation which in turn gives rise to level groups. In a downward spiral, further subgroups that are considered even more homogenised receive instructions using further fractionated knowledge.

The school shape of social relations with subject-actors or between subject-authors can be developed in different models of school organisation. In the homogeneous class with tested and classified students and designed to avoid communication, that same communication quickly pops up as soon as the school shape is addressed. In the classroom with children of the same or different ages and considered as a simple space-time conducive to group interactions, but also from the group to other groups, the communication to develop even faster. Once the dialoguing relationship is explicit and accepted among the members of the group, the institution as a learning community is inevitable. Here citizenship develops through dialogue and not by formatted imposition, reflecting the interactions that take place in society at large. Van Haecht (1994, p. 106) recalls that men and women and society mutually reproduce each other. Society is a dialectical phenomenon, a human product that is constantly being reformed. Social reality results from the activity and conscience of the subjects. The author argues that the con-

[27] Translated from French.

struction of society passes through three moments that are not sequential but dialectically linked: externalisation, objectification, and internalisation. This argument is consistent with the social constructivist model for learning and developing. In the same sense, Charlot (1997, p. 89) suggests that we should place the child as an incomplete individual not *against* but *in relation to* the existing and structured world.

CEMEA suggests the *intermediary cultural space* as a necessary transit space, an intermediary space of cultural experiences. In its texts, the group explains that this understanding appears in the context of contributions to thinking about intergenerational relationships in the education and social integration of young people[28]. In this context, CEMEA refers to the work of the French anthropologists Van Gennep and Kaës in the field of social psychology. I've borrowed this phrase a few times when trying to define an open workspace of exchanges but also of transition. Currently I prefer to use the term *interactive cultural space-time*, to give a more dynamic and relational tone to cooperative learning. The concept of *interactive cultural space-time* as a space for communication and interaction proposes the classroom as a place where the school shape of social relations is based on a pedagogical communication paradigm as cited above Rui Trindade and Ariana Cosme (2010, p. 58) propose: a paradigm characterised by valuing the widest variety of interactions that take place in a classroom as a factor that promotes children's learning.

The authors collect under this paradigm contributions from, for instance, Vasquez and Oury, Freire and Meirieu and the psychology-related approaches they call "culturalist" and social-constructivist, citing Vygotsky and Bruner as an example. They also quote from the sociological field the pedagogical differentiation of Perrenoud and Charlot on the relation to knowledge and also the thinking in the field of didactics and epistemology with contributions from authors from different fields of knowledge (*idem* , p. 59).

The interactive cultural space-time in which the variant of school shape that appeals to the communication paradigm is developed requires a stable group, for a certain time, in a certain place, to jointly develop a project that promotes learning for all. The classroom at school is one of the possible contexts for such a physical space, where the class group determines what is needed to make space-time work. Under these conditions, the group develops a variant of the school shape of social relations, different from the hegemonic one, and is, as it were, a continuation of the work of Célestin Freinet, which is situated in a specific period with a specific framework of analysis.

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[28] See http://www.cemea.asso.fr and https://www.cemea.asso.fr/spip.php?article2776 (accessed 20 December 2012).

The organisation of the work by the instituting group is the result of what Vasquez and Oury indicate with desire and of the meaning given to the work project. Feeling and desire are reinforced by the experience of belonging, which is provoked by participation, as Charlot, Perrenoud and Meirieu argue. Also at play here is the teacher's desire to be a facilitator of learning in the class group, but at the same time be a learning person in the group and through reflection in the case of the MEM in cooperative self-study groups. Continuous reflection evolves the school shape of social relations. Aronowitz and Giroux (1992, p. 157) say that in this case, teachers see themselves as educational transformative intellectuals.

The thoughtful work project, which makes it possible to vary the relationship with power and the interaction with knowledge in the school shape is a social project developed by social individuals now regarded as actors and authors, subjects and no longer mere agents, to quote Charlot (1997, p. 42). It is precisely for this reason that it is counterproductive to introduce dichotomous logics, pitting one variant of the school shape against another, and it is necessary to adopt a dialectical attitude.

As long as the hegemonic school shape remains hostage to the homogeneous class as that classroom was designed at the time of the industrial massification of the school, it becomes difficult to improve education. Tyack and Tobin say :

> "It is a much more difficult and gradual process than many reformers suspect, especially those who think it is possible and even necessary to change everything at once, precisely because the threads of education are so intertwined."
>
> (1994, p. 478)

On the other hand, when the class is seen as an interactive cultural space-time instituted by the group, it itself causes the development of variants in the relations of knowledge and power in the school shape of social relations as a result of how the class-group now sees itself. Freed from the traps of homogeneity and the teacher's natural authority, open to meaningful work projects, the class is set up as a space-time of transition, learning, inquiry and interaction. Filomena Serralha argues, in the words of Vasquez and Oury,*"the sharing of tasks makes the classroom a privileged place for the acquisition of social skills"* (2001, p. 34). The classroom as an interactive cultural space-time requires curriculum management by the group and not just by the teacher. Essentially what is at stake here, says Filomena Serralha, is transferring the curriculum to the group.

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Criticising the hegemonic school shape does not necessarily mean that one antagonistic shape to the criticised form must be adopted or that some other scriptural-social shape of learning must be devised. The criticism cited here serves to

explain the existence of the hegemonic shape supported by a hierarchical relation to power and an epistemic relation to knowledge that impoverishes self-action and makes learning difficult for certain groups of people.

Only after it is accepted that learning difficulties arise from the school shape variant and are not a clinical condition of specific pupils, the discussion is possible. According to Macedo (2008, p. 22) the anti-method pedagogy compels us to consider dialogue as a form of social practice. This dialogue *"requires the liberation of the voice of the oppressed"* as a *"fundamental condition for human emancipation"*.

In the *continuum* of school shapes of social relations, dialogue occupies an important place because it changes both the relation to power and the relation to knowledge. The dialogue and explanation in the interactive space-time is a continuous invitation for everyone's involvement in the interpretation and implementation of the group's curriculum. For Jorge Ramos do Ó, this involvement is a precondition for better learning in the MEM proposal :

> "Based on their individual differences, Sérgio Niza emphasises, all students should participate in the planning, organisation and evaluation of classroom life and school tasks. We defend, as everyone can see, a proposal that abandons the learning function through a teaching function of formal lessons that are the same for everyone and aim for a practice adopting *heterogeneity as a fundamental resource*. In the individualisation of the school career and in cultural contact with peers, we discover the prerequisite for improving cognitive skills"
>
> (2012, p. 24).

The effectiveness of the result depends on the relationship and interaction process established with knowledge and this depends on the relationship with power in the microcosm of the classroom. Pochet and Oury (1979, p. 212) ironise that innovation and democracy rarely go together: a new idea is generally not an idea of the great majority. Less ironically, Sérgio Niza notes in 1991 there is an oligarchy among teachers that is impervious to student participation (2012, p. 134). So he invites us to return to the innovative practices of the 1920s, when Dewey in America inspired Freinet in Europe and to the approach to the social dimension of education. Twenty years later, the same author draws attention to the announcement of the return of exams in Portuguese primary education, following the conservative policies that have found their way around the world, including in Portugal. As Sérgio Niza points out, it is only now and then, through the hands of supranational bodies,*"the first reactions to this strategic mismanagement against the quality of citizens' education are emerging in European democracies"* (***idem*** , p. 678).

Regardless of whether the cyclical emergence of a systemic policy that imposes a school shape in school and in the classroom is linked to the logic of citizens divi-

ded into social classes, the different school shapes of social relations ***coexist***. Along with the hegemonic variant of the subject-object school shape, and since that shape was imposed by rulers at the end of the nineteenth century, there are several evolutionary school shapes suggesting the *continuum* of school shapes of social relations.

In the first two chapters I situated the school in the developed society and the power and knowledge within it and chose its shape from the analytic dimensions of the school (Canário, 2005) for my argument.

Based on the theory of the school shape (Vincent *et al*., 1994) I developed the hypothesis of a *continuum* of school shapes of social relations, grouped into three major 'families', the elements of variation being (1) the relation to power, relying on Foucault, (2) the relation to knowledge, using the elements for a theory of the relation to knowledge (Charlot, 1997) and (3) the pedagogical paradigm, using a classification (Trindade and Cosme, 2010) defining the historical framework of each of the families of school shapes of social relations .

Among the school forms of social relations, I have highlighted the groups of school forms of social relations between subject-actors and subject-authors that allow for the interpretation and analysis of a decade of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school, I present in *Learning under the fig tree* preceded by a short chapter that frames this case. With the conclusions of the study, I return later to the *continuum* of school shapes of social relations, in *What future for the school shape?* with a general systematisation, where I join to the *descriptive normative* interpretation of the grammar of schooling of *Tyack* and Tobin (1994) an idea for the evolution towards a *comparative grammar of learning acts at school* as also enhancing a suggestion by the authors mentioned.

3 The case of a singular school shape

The case study of the school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*[1] is intended to be a modest contribution to the discussion about the school shape of the learning act. This discussion has as object the dimension of school shape, that is to say pedagogy, but it is also the discussion about education at school, at the intersection between shape and organisation. About the school shape, Olivier Francomme remarks:

> "School shape is probably one of the most paradoxical domains of the educational sciences in France: at the same time one finds an abundance of accounts of experiences, criticisms, innovations, but it is also the least discussed subject, starting at the university itself, which, despite all interesting experiences, little treats her own school shape. However, the shape of school does have an effect on schooling, upbringing, education..."[2]. (2010, p. 13).

The object of study is the **school shape of social relations** of a singular institution that announces itself as advocating a different way of having school. The hypothesis is therefore that school shape in general consists of several variants that are sustainable in themselves. In the schooled society these variants coexist and the singular shape of this case is one of them.

Throughout the twentieth century, and especially since the period between the two world wars, school is no longer seen as a cultural construct in advanced society but presented as a natural phenomenon. This naturalisation arises from the position of the institution in the body of institutions that Foucault identifies as disciplinary institutions in modernity and which I have discussed in the previous chapters.

The dimension of school shape does not consist of that single outfit with which it is too often represented in the media and marked by common sense. I propose a *continuum* with varying morphology. In this *continuum* variations of the school shape are included that are systemically considered ideal by an elite who assumes to be the power in the state. The power hierarchy entails the will to discipline people, hence the family school shapes of subject-object social relations. In the *continuum* there are also variations of the school shape of social relations, which are the result of the interpretation given by subject-actors and subject-authors of the relationship with power and the act of relationship they develop with knowledge.

I presented an in-depth case study of what constitutes a singular school shape in the Portuguese educational context, and which has the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school as an empirical reality. I chose it examine the 1986-1995 decade of work at this school for the following reasons:

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[1] See volume 2 - *Memories at the shadow of the fig tree.*

[2] Translated from French.

- The period coincides with the publication and implementation of the Basic Law 46/86 regulating the education system in democratic Portugal.
- The chosen period allows to appeal to different spoken and written memories of those who, as adults or as children, were involved in the organisation of the school work that portrays this school shape.
- The period coincides with my collaboration with the institution, in different positions and in different roles.

In "*A possible reading of the shape"* I come back to some points that I consider important to situate the study in *"School project and shape*".

A possible reading of the shape

Of the three dimensions of the school[3] suggested by Canário (2005), the shape is the one that interests me as angle for analysis because it allows a better understanding of the relation between the actors and the school that interact. I recall I use the term to refer to school shapes of social relations, as defined by Vincent *et al.* (1994). I base myself on Lahire (2008), who questions school scripture and what it means for subjects in their relation with power and their interaction with knowledge.

As easily can be seen, the school shape of social relations is not *a single form*. Even in highly institutionalised contexts, where subjects are not given great freedom of action, variations occur in the way people submit to external rules. These variations suggest ways of acting with distinct characteristics. What might be termed different ways of 'pedagogising' social relations emerge, though all within a hierarchical set-up of relation to power and knowledge. These different ways, the variants, are defined according to the attitudes of the teachers towards the participation of the students, or, more broadly, of learners, designing working models that are distinguished by actions initiated by those who having instructional authority (which we can identify as *top-down models*) or, on the contrary, arising from those who are instructed (what we can identify as *bottom-up models*). What does not change in these variants is the overal shape, which is determined by a predetermined hierarchy. That is, in schools with this shape, authority is experienced on the basis of an undisputed hierarchical logic.

This makes it clear that little attention is paid to pedagogy, possibly even eliminated when it comes to the relation to knowledge. Boavida and Amado (2008, p. 325) give a number of reasons why this happened, when discussing "*Educational Sciences or Pedagogy*" and emphasise the ambiguity of the second term, which, in Char-

[3] See above, Chapter 1, page 29 .

lot's words, *"both refers to the action as to the theory of action"*. However, the authors say, referring Estrela, of all educational sciences, pedagogy is the most important. They argue *"pedagogy as a science that studies the pedagogical phenomenon must be placed within the pedagogical field "* (***idem*** , p. 329). The authors suggest a dialectical process of knowledge integration. Pedagogy participates in the research process that enables a better understanding of education. Observing pedagogical currents contributes to the construction of the professional identity of those who make education their profession. Nevertheless, Francomme (2010) confirms the danger of the marginalisation of pedagogy within educational sciences and notes it is sometimes considered taken for good to marginalise the pedagogical dimension in favour of, for example, cognitive or didactic approaches. Like Rui Canário (2005), Francomme also emphasises that talking about school shape is equivalent to talking about pedagogy. For Rui Canário, the dimension school shape is the pedagogical dimension, while for Francomme, pedagogy is embedded in the school shape:

> "The school shape contains elements of organisation, of the instituted , of philosophy and pedagogy, all operationalised together in an educational framework. Ignoring the school shape means ignoring its importance and turning a blind eye to medieval practices. It also means accepting a finite world with no prospect of evolution, where the horizon of expectation merges with the field of experience . The study of school shape has to do with the complex analysis of educational phenomena ."[4] (2010, p. 13).

Talking about a school shape is talking about the relation of school with knowledge, is talking about pedagogy. But to talk about school shape is also to talk about the relationship with power among adults, among children and between adults and children, that is, between whom can exercise authority and who may not be able to exercise authority, which immediately affects the interaction with the knowledge.

The organisation of the education system, including in Portugal, continues to point to an instructive, normative school, in which testing and the obligation to fulfil tasks predominate. Discipline and incidents of conduct are subject to national regulations. As an example I refer to the Portuguese legislative proposal 70/XII, now approved as law 51/2012 of 5 September, entitled *"Statute of the student and school ethics "* and which stipulates in the preamble:

> In these terms, repeated failure to comply with duties of diligence and discipline must be determinative of social disapproval, and may, where the gravity warrants, lead to the determination of administrative sanctions against parents or guardians and/or to the reassessment of the law supporting social action

[4] Translated from French.

> and other public social support provided to the family resulting from school attendance, in addition to the mandatory notification to the respective Commission for the Protection of Children and Youth or to the Public Prosecutor's Office, in particular with a view to the application of education programs for parents."
>
> (Government of Portugal, Proposal 70/XII)[5]

In an official communiqué of 31 May 2012, the Council of Ministers motivates the proposal for this law as follows:

> "This proposal is to strengthen the effective authority of teachers, envisaging the creation of a new culture of discipline and reward for good student behaviour, and of greater responsibility on the part of parents and guardians."
>
> (Government of Portugal, 2012)

More generally, I refer to the analysis of the school shape subject to the disciplinary and punitive view at the school, in Chapter 1, where I confined myself to the issues of power and authority relations in the school.

To facilitate the analysis of the school form in general and of the variant arising from the proposed case study, I recall Vincent et al. (1994: 30-36) write the school shape of social relations is included in a larger set of shapes of social relations that differ from the shape of oral social relations. I remember they characterise them in five points:

(1) the school as a specific place, separate from other social practices, is linked to the existence of objectified knowledge;

(2) the "pedagogization" ie the training of social learning relationships resorts to a scriptural coding contained in the grammar of practices;

(3) the transfer of knowledge, unlike the transfer of experience, typical of oral social shapes, allows the production of lasting socialisation effects;

(4) shapes of social relations, in a particular place, and based on objectification and codification, allow the learning of different ways to manage power

(5) the school shape of social relations is the constitutive social form of a scriptural school relationship with language and the world.

I will try to contribute to the discussion of the school shape as a *continuum*, according to the variation in the relation to power, the relation to knowledge and the pedagogical paradigm, the extremes of which are the poles of *Lassallian* school shapes of social relations with subjects-objects and that of school shapes of social

[5] Centre-right government under Pedro Passos Coelho with Nuno Crato as Minister of Education and Science

relation between subjects-authors of their learning, in what I tentatively called interactive cultural space-time[6].

Taking up the reasoning in the first chapter, I argue the school shape has undergone a standardisation as a result of a specific interpretation of the locus school and the way social relations develop there, conveyed by the power elite. In Portugal this standardised school is a little over 100 years old, although, says António Nóvoa (2012, p.17), there are also 50 years of memory and evidence of another school throughout Sergio Niza's texts. We may consider, as I have tried to argue in the previous chapter, there is a tendency towards homogenisation of the organisation of this school, a standardisation contradicted by the introduction of variants, due to the existing tension between the schooling of society and that same society.

When introducing the school shape in comparative education, Francomme (2010, p. 14) does not speak of variants, but considers what he called "*the Freinet pedagogy*" as an ***alternative form of education*** then saying that Finland has defined a school shape of learning substantially differently from France, with the Finnish Minister of Education declaring this school shape was inspired by Célestin Freinet's proposals .

It would be an exaggeration to reduce the school shape to pedagogical prescriptions and proposals, either by La Salle or by Freinet. However, it is possible to discern in the *continuum* I proposed a number of variants including a family I have termed *Lassallian variants* (containing the pedagogy classified as teacher-centred by Altet (1999) which have the property of obscuring the tension between other shapes of social relations and the school shape by imposing rules from the outside and making files of the subjects through which they become objects. Moving from one pole to the other, we find variants based on a progressively greater interaction between the subjects directly involved, moving towards the interaction with other shapes of social relations, in which the subjects, adults and children, authors of their learning, develop themselves in a space-time transparent to the world. This *continuum* can be represented by the following simplified scheme[7]:

School shapes of social relations

hierarchy from above	*bottom-up hierarchy*	*horizontal relationships*
with subject-objects	With subject-actors	between subjects -authors

[6] See chapter 2, page 128 and following.

[7] Completely supplemented diagram in chapter 5 in *"The continuum of school shapes of social relations*".

Instead of substituting one school shape for something else, to which the word "*alternative*" may imply, I prefer the possibility of variants, some of which are more frequent and consider, while others are less frequent and depend on the moment or the place they are in, in an evolved society.

The continuity of variants of the school shape makes it possible to take account of local specificities. Taking Francomme's example, a variant of another family of school shapes may even become dominant in a given country as a result of action[8] taken by the government.

Dominant school shapes can therefore be located at different intervals of the *continuum*. There are no alternatives to a standard because no shape even when it has become predominant, becomes a standard by nature. The illusion that there is such a standard shape is kept alive by local coercion imposed by whoever has the power in a particular place, at a particular time. From this point of view, it is possible to inscribe the school shape mentioned by Francomme, like any other variant, in the *continuum*, regardless of whether it is dominant or not in a given context.

It is therefore possible to exist local variants of the school shape, some of which are more general than others. The case study I have presented allows me to show a variant that exists in Portugal, in classes or schools that herald a pedagogical relationship where the organising body is placed in the class group itself, in the hands of children and adults. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this is a process by which a group of people, children and adults, institutes its work in a work space-time, in which the group itself defines its action and its rules. This workspace-time is also a group with 'pedagogised' relations in the context of the education of children. It remains a school reality in which there is indeed a school shape of social relations. However, on the initiative of the adult, two elements were changed. On the one hand, the space-time conceived in this way no longer suggests the reproduction of a hierarchical authority relation in order to start a horizontal power relationship, so that everyone can learn how to handle power. On the other hand, the existence of the space-time is suggested not so much by the place of work as by the group of people living in it, shaping it, making the school's scriptural relationship with language and with the world more transparent with other social practices related to information seeking, knowledge sharing, and interaction with the knowledge itself.

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[8] Additional information about Finland is provided by Finnish educator Pasi Sahlberg in a recording at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dwHerTpwuvc , seen August 14, 2023.

School project and shape

The *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is one of the schools that has announced since the end of the 1970s it is organising the curriculum in a different way, opting for a specific pedagogical model of learning based on proposals by the MEM and the French group "*Genèse de la Coopé*", the core for Institutional Pedagogy within the Institut Coopératif de l'École Moderne (ICEM). In this school, the adults see the children as active conversation partners in the development of learning paths, saying that they are very attentive to the world outside the school walls with which members of the school community relate. That was enough to make the research question ***"To what extent is the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda sustainable? "***

Fernando Oury (1967, 1977) speaking about institutional pedagogy in the *classes de perfectionnement,* said his work was to transform pupils back into children. That was probably no coincidence. More recently, Rui Canário stated:

> "The school has historically made the transformation of children and youth into students a precondition for the act of learning. Building the school of the future therefore presupposes the application of the opposite procedure: turning students into people." (2008, p. 80).

One of the aspects of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is precisely to see children as subjects and not as objects. It is part of instituted relations that everyone for a certain period of time has to occupy a function instituted by the group itself. The institutional function of the group is about the organisation of its space, its time and its work. In some cases, the class groups seek working relations with other adults without an externally assigned teaching job but because of their position or their person, depending on the specific context of a particular job.

The circumstance in to, first, place to see all participants as subjects, second, to institute with the concerned group the functions it needs and, third, to self-regulate the space-time of work, were three aspects that motivated me to study the school shape of this school. My participation in the school project for just over ten years, my training in institutional pedagogy and my active membership of the MEM were additional motivation.

The descriptive and exploratory research has as its *object of study* the **singular school shape** of a group of classes in a particular school with a specific pedagogical proposal. The *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school is therefore the *empirical reality* for this object of study, the term being used with the meaning given to it by Guerra (2008, p. 37) when dealing with the construction of the object and the design of the case study . The study itself and the picture that emerges from the analysis of information provided by a group of twenty-four people and an extensive collection

of documents follows in the second part of this work[9]. I tried to study that singular form in depth, through those who lived and shaped it as a child or adult, using their memories and their collective production available in the archives of the school. I chose, for reasons already explained[10] the decade from 1986 to 1995 as a reference period, which is why I contacted people who were in *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* in the period understood between 1982 and 1999.

The *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is a small school unit in the Ajuda district of Lisbon, part of a larger institution with the name *A Voz do Operário*, which main installations are located in the Graça district. As I said, the school project itself inscribed in a specific pedagogical paradigm sets the tone for the school shape of this small singular unit if only because of its distinctive relation with power and interaction with knowledge. Of the written pedagogical project during the period in question, I found only fragments from the school year 1989-1990 as part of a file for one of the work projects of one of the classes in that year.

(snippet 1)

> The pedagogical project of this school follows the following main lines :
> - Integrate children with a fundamental deficiency;
> - Defend and put into practice natural learning, based on the works of the most important pedagogues of this century from institutional pedagogy/active pedagogy, as also proposed by the modern school movement (see text below)[11];
> - Open the school to students of pedagogy and psychology within certain limits imposed by the school board;
> - Steer teamwork whereas the school board itself is a collective pedagogical (and administrative) unit;
> - Respect individual production : there is no imposition, but exhibition space is created to meet the need to show the work done to others;
> - Develop all techniques necessary to give students control over their environment, whereby we refuse any scholastic ridiculous exercise.
>
> (see the elaboration of these ideas in the text below and in the separate plans)[12]

(snippet 2)

> 1.3/1 In the class of the 3rd year, scientific material is made available to the pupils. Through a file that currently contains 300 work proposals, children can freely explore the basic concepts of the natural sciences. Each work is presen-

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9 See : *Part II. Memories in the shadow the fig tree. The case of the De Voz do Operário da Ajuda* (at https://sites.google.com/view/pepepascal/more-writing/nonfiction)

10 See page 132

11 Text not found.

12 Texts I couldn't find.

ted in class and can initiate investigations through projects .

1.3/2 The pupils of the 3rd grade correspond with a group of pupils in Leuven – Belgium. The main goal is the exchange of projects and studies with another European country of the Common Market . This work will run over two years.

The respective teachers suggested finding the necessary financial support to enable an exchange trip — possibly partial — between the two classes at the end of each school year.

(snippet 3)

2.3. (from 3rd grade, grade 1989-1990)

Material

(indicate seating arrangement, collective material, individual material)

The basic layout allows permanent work in the production corner (computer, press, limographe), research corner, painting corner and center block. The walls are organised in such a way that they offer all the collective material: math wall, language wall, project wall, library, collective school material (basic material only). A series of open cupboards is provided for the individual material, each of which is responsible the user.

Organisation

(indicate: person responsible/type, management of the cooperative, time, space, choice of work, etc)

The entire organisation is organised from two collective moments : the Council on Friday (or on Thursday if Friday is a public holiday) and the weekly schedule on Monday. The time is fully managed by the day responsible (with possible support from the teacher). The spatial organisation is determined by each of the activities carried out and is therefore permanently reorganised. Any member of the group is responsible for a part of the organisation, supported by the Council and the cooperative fund — strictly separated from the quarterly contributions as applied in *Voz do Operário* (contributions paid by the parents and that have nothing to do with the production of the group). The choice of work is determined by the group and the individual working time is determined by each member of the group.

Activities

Type of activities (language, mathematics, study of the physical and social environment).

All activities are planned through the weekly schedule. Gathering knowledge doesn't come by transfer from textbooks or through the teaching of the teacher, but is the result of the students' inquiry. Using the production of the pupils (free texts – research – projects), groups of children consolidate new know-

ledge with the support of adults strictly at their own pace. The files available to students are tools to support this consolidation of new subject matter. Note that each project will be carried out through a contract with the class group that evaluates the works.

4 Learning under the fig tree.

The school shape of the social relations of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is singular. As for the management of activities, it assumes a regulated division of authority, with a coherent approach, within the scope of classes and, by extension, within the scope of the school. As I argued in the second chapter, there are coexisting school shapes and we find them alongside the hegemonic shape throughout the twentieth century. In the previous chapters I have proposed a *continuum* of school shapes of social relations, determined by the variation of the relationship with power and knowledge.

In this *continuum*, the school shape of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* occupies a specific place. The Ajuda school is here analysed in depth based on memories. Both the memories of the interviewees and the collection of written documents and audiovisual material show a school shape with an underlying pedagogical project based on the proposals of the modern school movement with some emphasis on institutional pedagogy.

On the following pages I will present some aspects of the history of the period under analysis. In doing so, I sought to establish what helps to understand the uniqueness of the school shape of social relations that we will find in the various classes from which I have collected testimonies.

The image of the unique school shape of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* in the 1980s and 1990s emerged from the detailed analysis of different types of memories. It evokes what life and work were like at school at the time and provides the elements for the thoughts I formulate here around an example of a school shape of social relations between subjects-actors and subjects-authors, inscribed in the proposed *continuum.* From the evoked image I will discuss a few aspects, which I will return below. The first sub-point "*What singularity in the shape?*" presents the space-time in the Voz do Operário *da Ajuda* project. The second sub-point "*Which authority to whom and for what?*" reflects the relationship with power in this school and the third sub-point "*The return of the learner*" looks at building up the interaction with the knowledge as became clear from the analysed data.

Which singularity in the shape?

In this first subchapter I focus on what the documentation teaches us about the space-time into which the singular mode of schooling the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* works. The first aspect to emphasise is that if it is indeed a school shape, if we look at the elements used by Vincent *et al.* (1994, p. 30) to characterise it.

In the first chapter, I synthesised two of these five characteristics as (a) shapes of social relations, in a particular place, and based on objectification and codification, allow the learning of different ways to manage power, and (b) the school shape of social relations is the constitutive social form of a scriptural school relationship with language and the world.

I will come back to this in the following sub-sections when I consider the relation to power and the relation to knowledge in the form of school I am analysing.

The space-time *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is part of an institution with its own organisation, where a precise school shape of social relations is designed. Therefore, I discuss the remaining three features of the school shape of social relations according to Vincent *et al.* (1994) in the following paragraphs, after briefly repeating them:

(1) The school as a specific place, separate from other social practices, is linked to the existence of objectified knowledge; (2) the "pedagogization" ie the training of social learning relationships resorts to a scriptural coding contained in the grammar of practices; (3) the transfer of knowledge, unlike the transfer of experience, typical of oral social shapes, allows the production of lasting socialisation effects.

I look at these three aspects in light of the four entry points I used to understand the way the school presents itself to us, that is, the space and the experience within it, the interactions between people in relation to learning, the existing pedagogical scenario and some specific rituals of the *Voz do Operario of Ajuda*.

(1) the school as a specific place, separate from other social practices, is linked to the existence of objectified knowledge

The school shape proposed by t*he Voz do Operário da Ajuda* does not correspond to the ingrained model in which the objectification of knowledge consists of explanatory lessons of externalised knowledge, rows of desks, students two by two. Here comes a context where original own work is presented, with some educators borrowing their theoretical-pedagogical frame of reference from the institutional pedagogy and the theory of practice of the Portuguese Movimento da Escola Moderna .

In *the school of the fig tree*[13] an internal cohesion is established to build a work environment that facilitates thinking and learning through individual and collective work. This is an option made explicit by the teachers and reflected in the testimonies of who was a student at the school and in the documents of the archives analysed. The collective moments are recognised as important and not described

[13] All titles and subtitles referenced in this chapter refer to Volume II: *Memories at the shadow of the Fig Tree* .

as being class lessons. The difference is so great that in some cases there are people who apparently claim that one can no longer speak of a singular school shape. In some situations, the legitimacy of being different from the most common school shape in Portugal is questioned with regard to work organisation.

There is a specific view of those who relate the social practice in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda School* to the world outside school and who regard the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* as the first school to prepare students for all other schools that follow.

And yet there are two ways of interpreting reality. Some consider by comparison with the school shape they meet after the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* to have had a context of this *"moments which are difficult to ever forget later"*, to paraphrase the interviewee Irene Pires[14], while others feel they were *"ill-prepared"* for the school world portrayed by Lahire (2008, p. 38) with the words of Vincent associating "*education*" with "*government*" and "*civilisation"*: the school shape of social relations should serve to work with the child and the poor— both with negative description of what precedes the "education", which is why they are considered "savages" — thus contributing to their "civilisation". In other words, and going back to Foucault (2009), the school shape contributes to the disciplinary effect of the school institution, included in the whole of disciplinary institutions that also include military instruction, the church, the hospital and the prison.

However, the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is presented as a school where objectified, reflected and discussed knowledge becomes a social practice of mental labor and in the space and time organised by the group making intervention possible inside and outside the school. In doing so, the subject-actors and authors test their mutual social relations in the interactive space-time they have established. This testing out does not happen in a way it would be incompatible with other social practices, but rather in constant interaction with those other social practices. It is therefore not a school shape separated from other social practices. If we want to define a precise space-time for a stable group, then we can rather speak of there being a separate place in the sense of a protected, cozy place, a small space-time where the objectified knowledge and the knowing of each meet.

The school shape of social relations developed by the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school proposes a specific space-time necessary for the experience of other social practices.

[14] The names used here to identify the former pupils interviewed are fictitious. The teachers interviewed are identified by their real names, after having received permission to do so.

(2) the "pedagogization" ie the training of social learning relationships resorts to a scriptural coding contained in the grammar of practices

The photos and filmed documents reveal activities outside the school, and working moments inside and outside the school to which adults and children create their code of conduct, rather than using a code of predetermined standards that teachers and students blindly follow.

In *Learning from "many with many"* it is possible to begin to understand this school and its shape. The work plans for the group, for sub-groups and for individuals who are worked out together are organised around the production of their own workpieces with their own content that are the result of what everyone in the group tells and asks . The abstractions necessary for the conceptualisation are the result of collective discussions based on verified classroom, school or community events, which have become the object of study through research. A pedagogical relation is seen based on individual learning, group learning and working moments involving the whole class group. It is clear from the documents produced that the proposed products are the fruit of discussion and reflection between adults and children.

In general, the added value of organising the school this way is recognised and is also reflected in the documents. But there are those who hesitate to believe that this shape facilitates learning, because the practice is different from what is practiced in the Lassallian or bank depository school (Freire). Some of the interviewees questioned the 'legitimate character' of a shape that confronts young people and children and therefore make them aware of the existence of hierarchical and non-democratic school systems. It's hard not to remember Lahire's words:

> "The Lassallian schools , like those of Démia, are models from the point of view of the codification of the set of school practices: from the knowledge taught to the teaching methods, going through all aspects of the organisation of space and school time, nothing is left to chance, everything is an object of writing, dissecting and fixing movements and sequences, allowing greater systematisation and simultaneous teaching."[15] (2008, p. 35).

In "*Innovative didactic resources?*" is shown the pedagogical scenario deliberately breaks with this codification. The organisation of space as a didactic resource inherent to the work proposal breaks through the logic of the instructing school. This rift becomes more apparent when the classroom is transformed into a labyrinth of work islands, allowing for free movement and free choice, avoiding the teacher being 'centred'. Dubet (2002, p. 105) notes in this regard that the class-

[15] Translated from French.

room environment immediately reveals who the teacher is. The room is the epitome of one's personality and character. For the author, and from this point of view, the classroom is an extension of the teacher himself.
The class organisation in the Ajuda school differs from teacher to teacher. In this sense, the reorganisation of the scenario, considered in itself as a didactic tool, does not alter the fact that ultimately the organisational power on which the way a school is managed depends is placed in the hands of the teacher, even in a pedagogical project such as *The Voz do Operario da Ajuda.* Even among teachers who are part of the same pedagogical movement[16] just because this school shape of social relations is not limited to a set of norms in a reductive interpretation of the idea of scriptural coding, the options differ. In this regard, Francisco Marcelino says of the MEM:

> "Thus today we are not just one path, we are many (...). The dynamics of variety within the movement enriches, gives strength and gives meaning to cooperation" (2002, p. 50).

In general, it can be said that many of the didactic or technical-pedagogical resources associated with the grammar of schooling are also useful when practice shows a syntax different from what should be a "*normative grammar*". The LOGO programming language, the Cuisenaire or the MAB material that was often used then, the ritual of autonomous work, the consolidation cards are artefacts that can serve practice, any practice, but *only* as an exercise afterwards .

What sets it apart is the way the material is used: in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* the LOGO language serves to mathematically translate problems suggested in the "tell and show" moments, autonomous work is cooperatively arranged, mathematical material is not the subject of instructional lessons, but is available as a resource. Writing and writing exercises are not about the exercise itself, but about communication and publication.

However, and typical of the pedagogization of the social relationship of learning, there are moments of practice that allow to affirm the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is unmistakably a school with a singular character. The workspace exists, does not place the school outside world, but enters into debate with it. I quote Lahire (2008, p. 45) who notes that in order to debate and sometimes create fierce controversy with regard to a particular exercise, there must be tacit agreement about the perceived need for this exercise.

The discussion on the pedagogization of the learning relationship therefore focuses on the variants in their shape and not on the existence in itself, which allows to enter into the debate on the future of school education and its grammar. Ra-

[16] Modern school movement.

ther than accepting the set of rules as immutable, something Tyack and Tobin (1994) emphasise when they talk about the *'normative grammar of schooling' I* can envision, together with them, a *'comparative grammar'* of described school practices that studies different syntaxes and morphologies.

When observing the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, we look at a series of organisational and structural features that are integral to the proposal for a learning space and that deviate from the normative grammar of Tyack and Tobin. The pupils who everyone consciously accepts as being different from each other have been placed in class groups, but without obscuring the differences. In these classes, teachers with a generalist profile cooperate with the children and with other visiting adults. The structured and instituted spaces are presented as a space-time for reflection and consolidation. Through the school schedules discussed together, the relationship between the school room and the non-school room can be arranged.

Here the syntax, which I will discuss in more detail in the last point of this chapter, incorporates the structuring elements of the pedagogical action. Among these elements we distinguish the joint discussions about the planned and presented work, a working attitude that facilitates group work and a holistic approach to reality, through projects, drawn up, elaborated and presented as structuring references to deal with knowledge.

If we want to go a little further with the proposal of a *grammar of schooling* and possibly think of a *grammar of the learning act*, then it may be possible to add a *universal comparative grammar of school practices,* allowing for specific syntaxes depending on the pedagogical paradigms that help describe the variations of the school shapes of social relations. In this *universal grammar* is inscribed Tyack and Tobin's proposed grammar of the shape currently predominant in many nation-states, which in itself is not the universal grammar.

(3) the transfer of knowledge, unlike the transfer of experience, typical of oral social shapes, allows the production of lasting socialisation effects

In *The School of the Fig Tree* school emerges as a social environment that allows interaction with the worlds of adults and children. There is no one who says they have experienced major difficulties in social relations with authority and power or with knowledge in the world outside the school. Occasionally, after leaving the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda, it is difficult* to deal with the hierarchical authority in the school and the poor and "subject-driven" school knowledge inherent in the school shape with an empirical view of knowledge (Case, 2000) which dates back to the largely illiterate society of the seventeenth century. In *Rituals that help* we see the series of specific rituals that allow a transfer of knowledge based on the transfer of experiences.

When we look at the routines that adults and children themselves create, share and discuss at the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school, it is clear that socialisation comes from questioning and no longer happens through 'fertilisation'. The adult assumes his role as a teacher by informing and mediating about the learning of each of the children. In a teaching role, the adult continues to enable the objectification of knowledge and the transfer of knowledge. The school *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is reminiscent of the description given by Filomena Serralha, in what she claims to be an approximation to the pedagogical model of the MEM :

> "It is a school organisation in which the students, together with the teacher, fundamentally act as a community dedicated to building and sharing knowledge" (2007: 83).

I close this first subchapter by recalling that school shapes of social relations appear late in the history of social relations. The generalisation of compulsory schooled education where this form of social relations develops is even more recent. In this regard, Lahire notes:

> "The furnishing of a school space that needs material, institutional resources, methods and a field of reflection, means of control and specific training for teachers is not the reality before the beginning of the twentieth century" (2008: 44).

It therefore seems wrong to me to regard school as a natural phenomenon and to regard the school shape characterised by the Lassallian precept as the only school shape of social relations . Before the beginning of the twentieth century, other pedagogues developed practices that derived from shapes of social relations that differed from those derived from a French tradition anchored in the poor schools of Démia, the mutual schools and the school model of Jules Ferry.

The singular school shape of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* develops from a different line that starts at the end of the nineteenth century with Dewey, and continues at the beginning of the twentieth century with Freinet, later with institutional pedagogy and MEM and was enriched with socio-historical theory of Vygotsky from the first half of the twentieth century. Many of their proposals influenced the teachers involved in this form of school in theorising their practice.

The pedagogical communication paradigm that supports this school shape also allows it to interact with other practices of social relations. With a stable group, in a space-time defined by that group to enable, to analyse, to define those same interactions and in this way to follow individual paths of cooperative learning, it offers a way of schooling with a singular shape. I would like to quote the words of Rui Canário (2002, p. 149) here : *"It is precisely the historical and therefore 'invented' character of the school that makes its 'reinvention' theoretically possible"*. It is from this position that I view the work of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* also from two other ang-

les: the first focused on the relationship with power, the second focused on the interaction with knowledge, both within the specific context of the school shape studied. Again, Vincent *et al.*'s (1994) definitional elements of school shapes of social relations are the guiding principle for understanding how this singular school shape contributes to the 'reinvention' proposed by Rui Canário.

Which authority to whom and for what?

One of the focus points of the analysis of the school shape of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is about the relationship with power. I used four entrance gates. First, I looked at the intended collective responsibility that students and educators make co-authors of their collective action. Which instruments do they use, how do they organise their tasks and responsibilities, that were the basic questions. Next, I looked at the organising and regulating tool that stands out throughout the organisation: the Council for Educational Cooperation. How is it started, what possibilities and what limits are there for that Council? How does who institute it place themselves at the crossroads of institutional pedagogy and the modern school movement of Portugal, which relies on the social-historical (or socio-cultural) learning theory? How does the Council support collective learning? Third, I looked at the relations developed between the subjects. They go beyond the relation between the adult in his role as a teacher or school employee and the child in his role as an *in fans* student. Other adults are involved in the work projects not as administrative heads of households, but as fathers and mothers. How does this change the relationship with power and authority? Finally, I analysed all archived documents from that period. What relation between power and knowledge do they show?

The memoirs told to us by the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* subjects show experiences of class groups where what happens is the responsibility of all those who are part of it. Not everyone goes through all the responsibilities, although those are interchangeable in themselves, but everyone has a responsibility in the collective. Everyone can be approached by a person responsible for a soliciting tasks that are a direct result of his position (a request for cleaning, for storage of material) or as a result of the fact that one belongs to the group that has delegated organisational responsibility to someone: the person responsible for lunch puts together the day team, just like the person responsible for the printing press does, who manages the book with collective texts asks authors to write in the missing texts if necessary, the person responsible during a camp or an excursion has delegated authority.

Children and adults organise themselves in a 'micro society'. They do not interpret, they are the real authors and thus have authority. I use the term here thin-

king of Morgado's words[17] and Sérgio Niza, who states in an interview with Américo Peças (2006, p. 155):

> "There is a sense of false authority among teachers. This also stems from the confusion about the idea of the author, which stems from the religious genesis of the schools: the authors were the ones who wrote about it, the ones who interpreted it, and it was the interpretations given by the churches of the Book that has authority made."

Involved children and adults discuss how the task will be performed, how the work will be organised. The camps and the organisation of the meals required more work, sparking the idea of work teams. These work teams take shape in the proposal of rotating day teams, which divide the tasks and responsibilities among themselves. I would venture to say that it is the students together with the teachers who "write the class" giving each other mutual authority.

Many of the decisions show the regulatory effect of the group and the pressures it exerts, so that children and adults for themselves accept and relate to the rules they have helped to shape in the microcosm in which the class group develops. They are not the impersonal rules outside teachers and students typical for the externalised bureaucratic school. They are rules that they have drawn up among themselves or made explicit. The relationship with these rules manages the singular character of the school shape they have created and makes it *understandable* (Vincent *et al.* , 1994, p. 13). Hereby the testimony is given that school and, in it, class, is a specific *locus* (*le lieu* of Fernand Oury) of compulsory passage for more and more social beings Vincent *et al.* (1994, p. 30), and not a closed space for knowledge transfer.

This school space is not the Lassallian school space characterised by Foucault (2009, p. 241) as the homogeneous classroom where individuals are placed side by side, in rows, under the eyes of the master who distributes tasks and administers tests, week after week , month after month, year after year.

The organisation of power made possible by teachers who recognise themselves in the institutional pedagogy and the model of the MEM gives life to a variant of a school shape that opens up by giving the opportunity to experiment at a place everyone uses and where everyone builds. The class group is presented to us as a group of subjects living in a 'micro society' wanting their evaluation to be:

> "- democratic: refers to the necessary participation of all subjects affected by the assessment, especially the teacher and the student;
>
> - at the service of the protagonists in the teaching and learning process, and

[17] For "auctoritas" see chapter 1, page 60.

> above all at the service of the subjects who learn"
>
> Alvarez Mendez, JM (2002, p. 17).

The whole organisation resulting from permanent monitoring, through the Council meetings and the information available and interpreted, suggests a meeting place ***by*** work and not ***for*** the work. The constant exchange through the collective agenda and the planning and evaluation moments suggests an organisational form in which the work is the result of the desire of each element of the group. It is about the desire of children and adults to learn together. There are some areas that deserve a closer look:

- The organising Council meet in a specific place within a certain time limit to make decisions on everyone's own time. Is it legitimate for the Council to take a decision requiring homework?
- The Cooperative Council is not a court. It is a moment of clarification and regulation, only partially devoted to conflict management. The group starts by accepting everything introduces then operational filters, through keywords and the regulation of its day teams.
- The school community in general believes that its way of organising and regulating relations makes it possible to manage any conflict situation. However, there are some reports that point to situations where adults place too much trust in children.
- The teacher is necessary, attentive and always present, acting when necessary. There are situations that show that it would be dangerous to equate the adult in the group with the children in the group.

Additional certification creates collective learning opportunities. By sharing the knowledge that some members of the group gain, they discuss how to convert the existing and newly acquired knowledge in authentic cultural works Filomena Serralha (2009, p. 26) to curriculum appropriation where children and adults work together and evaluate the work produced together.

In fact, at different times we glimpse a relation between people organising together to create a place with well-defined boundaries, its laws and rules, investing in the common language that explains this construction. This is the relation that strives for that other "professionalism" that Rui Canário talks about, which:

> "simultaneously with building another relationship with the students, these, in their capacity as children and youth (and not just students), are seen as desired allies and are no longer as 'the problem' ." (2008, p. 79).

But not only that; this is a relation that also enable children and young people to support adults (who too easily take up the role of teacher or guardian at school) to

find working partners for the design of the construction site where joint projects become viable.

Two of the five elements that, according to Lahire, Vincent, Thin (1994), characterise the school in its shape[18] are recognisable in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school as seen in this pages: we find lasting socialisation effects in a place where ways of exercising power are to practice. It is a relationship with power that does not come from a connection with knowledge according to the Jesuit interpretation. In an interview with Américo Peças, Sérgio Niza recalls this view of power:

> "The Jesuits were convinced that knowledge is power. This fusion of knowledge into power was very well internalised by the teachers. If they know, they have power. This power over others must be asserted and affirmed. There is a confusion here between knowledge as culture, which builds the human being, and knowledge as instrument, which dominates. And our teachers sometimes pursue knowledge as an instrument of domination rather than knowledge as an instrument of human emancipation and development" (2006, p. 155).

In the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda,* the space-time defined by the group is characterised by management based on the sharing of power and its renegotiation, opening the possibility of appropriating knowledge, in a process where each marks his authorship.

It is therefore now possible to add this structuring element to the elements already described, at the end of the previous point, in order to design the syntax of the pedagogical action of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda. The Council called Assembly*, in which space-time is generated and responsibilities are discussed, is essential to determine social relations in the school shape studied.

The return of the learner

Having dealt with space-time and the management of power, I try to understand in general terms how the school form of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* promotes interaction with knowledge. I have tried to capture some elements that suggest an connection and interaction with knowledge from the point of view the student places himself in the world, observes this world and obtains the perspective of who is building and developing knowledge in cooperation with others who also make themselves authors.

I leave three comments here without hierarchical order. In the first place, writing, in the school shape outlined here, lies at the basis of the group's development, because in writing it finds its instrument to write its history. Second, the class

[18] I referred them with (a) and (b) on page 143.

groups demonstrate the importance of individual and collective autonomy to create the referential space-time. Thirdly, the frequent outside activities that determine the school shape of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* are indispensable for relation with knowledge to be in interaction with the world.

1. Writing, in the school shape outlined, is at the basis of the group's development, because in writing the group finds its instrument to write its own history.

In the school shape I have analysed here, writing appears in its authentic form, which encourages reading. Writing presents itself as the most important cultural instrument available . By writing, the group takes shape and affirms itself, using real instruments. Once more, Sérgio Niza warned in 2002, when computers were increasingly introduced in primary schools, about the dangers of school equipment:

> "I am therefore critical of the school press, I think that the press was a distraction from Freinet, very stimulating, because through this contradiction he managed to impose the idea of writing, of free text. He created freedom spaces, but also the misconception: that you can make a kind of mini press for school use only. Fortunately, today we have computers, even though specific programs are made especially for schools. That is the alienating impoverishment that the market imposes on culture" (2012, p. 432).

No longer worried about the aspect of the instrument, the group focuses on the power contained in writing. To master writing is to master your own story, to master your history and thus History. As we have seen, using the stories and histories of peoples allows us to appropriate further cultural tools, language and mathematics to interpret the world. This appropriation allows one to escape the status of described object, documented student or processed teacher, filed with at the secretariat according to normative prescription. The writing of each author, of each learner who is part of the group, allows the individual and the group to build their own historicity and interact with that of the others, right from the start with monophrase texts, and thus also build a group unit, consisting of the author units of actors. Touraine emphasises the importance of this notion of historicity:

> "[It] means that the unity of our society can no longer be found in its internal rules of operation, or in its essence, or in its place in a long evolution, but in its ability to produce itself."
>
> (Touraine, 1996, p. 67)

2. The class groups demonstrate the importance of individual and collective autonomy to create the referential space-time.

During his interview, Raul Bento, former student of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, refers the warehouse staple place right in the school of the Belgian correspondents, mentioning it as the place from which one could work from scratch. It

means in this case the project that a child or the group wants to set up is fully and freely thought out and shaped by its authors, using the constituent material for the realisation of the projected object. This object can be a construction with waste material, but also a text, a study on wolves, documentation on the pollution of the Tagus, an exhibition on one's own pedagogical project or the institution of one's own space-time that from the beginning has been about a place and a moment in the stream of time.

In the institution, the school organisation, the group becomes institutional, the group that autonomously creates and develops a workspace in which everyone moves autonomously because everyone was part of the collective that shaped the group. We return to Touraine's (1996, p. 67) observation that the concept of institution today should not refer to what is instituted, but to what is to institute: cultural orientations are transformed into social practices, even in this micro-society.

In this basic project there is an organisational routine created and led by the authors who are part of the group, each of whom contributes their knowledge. There is an educational cooperation structure, which Filomena Serralha describes as follows:

> "an organisational structure of classroom work — the context of social education — that conceives learning dynamically, as everything learned in school is co-operative with others and made communal" (2009, p. 22).

The space and time in which the group is defined are in the school, but take up many places. Both elements are constantly remodelled by the group, which appropriates its own space and rediscovers it at all times, based on its interaction with the world.

3. The frequent outside activities are indispensable for relation with knowledge to be interaction with the world.

The school shape of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* suggests the possibility of developing a shape for learning free of artefacts, yet school correspondence remains, a school artefact of the art of communication with the other. In the world of the school, correspondence facilitates the handling of the bureaucracy necessary to leave the school and meet others, because that correspondence is accepted as a pedagogical activity, that is, it is enrolled in a school shape view of relation and interaction with the world. The organisation of a work camp with people from outside the school place-time is also possible, as soon as the school finds partners for this.

What all the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* outer activities have in common is that they start from a very clear idea of a class: this space-time is not a place between four walls, but a mobile space, which owes its existence solely to the existence of the group and what I call interactive (pedagogical) cultural space-time. This space-time

appropriates a place: a place for memory, a storehouse for what has been collected; a space to which one can return to systematise learning before projecting a new outer activity. In a sense, it is the group that institutes and characterises the place. A singular shape of social relations shows those who were originally, say, forcibly placed in a space, making it a learning space for the elaboration of a kind of authority based on direct participation in decision-making. In this space, differences are actively sought when one comes into contact with others, near or far, when one discusses the organisation of work based on the combination of different knowledge. Or, to use a quote from Charlot (1997, p. 93): "*the interaction of a subject, faced with the need to learn, with knowledge is the interaction with the world, with the other and with oneself*" [19].

The school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* presents the relation with the knowledge as a dynamic interaction of the instituting group with and in its space-time and an active interaction with the world outside its space-time. These interactions are the direct consequence of the fact that every learning individual relates in a network to every other learning individual, child or adult, removing any temptation to standardise people who have acquired the status of subject-author of their own learning.

When going over all the elements that make the action possible and start the learning process, the moment of production that is determined by the producers has to be taken in account. The acquired knowledge is shared in a cooperative learning process, mediated by the educators, who themselves are also reflective learners in this process.

[19] Translated from French.

5 What future for the school shape?[1]

With this work I discuss the hypothesis of a *continuum* of school shapes of social relations. To this end, in the first chapter I sketched a brief synthesis of the school and its significance in schooled society. In the second chapter I presented three families of school shapes of social relations and their characteristics. The third and fourth chapters summarise the case study of the singular school shape of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school (see Volume II: *Memories at the shadow of a fig tree*) for the debate on school shapes of social relations, also addressing the sustainability of those forms. With this fifth and final chapter I hope to contribute to the debate on the future of the school based on the hypothesis of a *continuum* of school shapes of social relations.

To do this, I look through the sociological lens used by Rui Canário (2005, p. 63) when he defines the levels of debate about the school in three dimensions: the institution dimension , the organisation dimension and the shape dimension which is also the pedagogical dimension. I argue the school shape of learning presents itself as a *continuum* of varying school shapes of social relations, where the relation to power and to the knowledge and the underlying pedagogical paradigm are variables. The *continuum* groups what I call three families of school shapes of social relations. Those families are different from each other. One of them stands out because it occupies a hegemonic position. The most common shape conforms to what is established by the legal power, and corresponds to what the elites of a given society intend for education, using the institution school that is a human-made cultural construct. I called the most common familie of school shapes that of social relations with subject-objects, the other two families are the school shapes of social relations with subject-actors and the school shapes of social relations between subject-authors.

The *continuum* concept helps to understand the coexistence of singular school projects with their specific school shape and avoid falling into the trap of the false homogenisation of the school shape, partly because of the reading made of the relationship between its most common variant and its organisation. This false homogenisation leads even to consider other variants as not being school shapes at al, but some alternative to school and its shape.

That being said, the *continuum* encompasses the shape most desired by a limited

[1] This chapter was previously published with some modifications in Escola Moderna Série 6 n º 2 (2014) under the (portuguese) title "*School shapes of social relations: towards a comparative grammar of school learning?*".

group of actors in a given territory. But even when the desired shape is instituted and regulated, and even when from this institution springs from above a certain organisation of learning at school, this does not prevent the possibility of other school shapes of social relations in any school or schoolcluster, gaining existence simply because they are so desired by students to whom authority has been delegated. Yet the school shape also always depends on a teacher's interpretation of the authority delegated to him or her to administer a prescribed curriculum. The hegemonic school shape is in line with the social relations desired by the elite trying to maintain its status of elite thanks to the instructional and executive attitudes of adults in any setting less susceptible to change, often embedding themselves in the externally set hierarchical chain.

The text is structured in three parts. In *Taught world, understood world, understandable world,* I broaden the characterisation of school shapes of social relations proposed by Vincent *et al.* (1994) to integrate what the case study reveals. I synthesise the proposed hypothesis of the *continuum* of school shapes and explain the variations in both the pedagogical paradigm and the relationship with power and knowledge from one pole to the other of the *continuum*.

In *The adaptability of the school shape* I relate what I have termed '*dynamic school shape*' to the evolution of social relations in any interactive cultural space-time. This approach contributes to sketching a '*comparative grammar of school learning*'. The sketch sums up divergent connections between singular school shapes of social relations, with specific pedagogical paradigms and syntax on the one hand, and school organisation despite the invariance of some aspects on the other hand. This *comparative grammar* extends the *grammar of schooling* suggested by Tyack and Tobin (1994), making the latter a specific subsystem.

I finish in *Towards the welcoming school?* with a number of questions that arise from the formulated hypotheses and can serve as a starting point for future developments.

Taught world, understood world, understandable world

The *continuum* of school shapes of social relations I propose is consistent with the varying interpretations adults have of how they relate to children in the light of organised learning. The *continuum* transcends the very structure of the school and transfers to the school shape the different shapes of relations that exist in society and the different ways in which the adult subjects of this society look at children. It involves a variety of possible interactions starting with its negation. That denial preserves in the word infancy derived from *in fans ,* that is the one who is unable to speak or to argue as in Roma were defined children and slaves among others.

The variety of interactions ends with the full interaction, whereby the child is recognised as a thinking being who can tell his story, thus contributing to the course of the History of the project of that same society, in which it becomes, with its own voice, a co-author becomes of its learning.

Monteil (*apud* Charlot, 1997, p. 70) distinguishes between information, knowledge-experience and science-knowledge. For the author, information is external to the subject. It can be preserved, is objective and available to everyone. Knowledge-experience is the result of personal experience related to the subject's activity, and therefore it is subjective and non-transferable. Science-knowledge, like information, is objective, but it is appropriate information that results from knowledge production by a subject in confrontation with other subjects within the bounds of methodological frameworks. Science-knowledge thus differs from knowledge-experience. This distinction is important when conceptualising learning and teaching.

To this end, Case (2000, p. 78) proposes a systematisation of three views of knowledge and their impact on educational practice through three different psychological theories related to them.

A first group, which he identifies as '*didactic learning theories',* corresponds to an empirical view of knowledge that originated in Hume and leads to educational technologies such as Skinner's programmed instruction. Case considers '*constructivist learning theories*' to be a second group. These have their roots in the rationalism of Descartes and Kant. Learning takes place from the inside out and not (just) from the outside in. The rationalist view of knowledge as something constructed by the mind allows for the development of psychological learning theories that take into account the evolution of each child's thought structures. The systematisation proposed by Piaget evolves into educational activities included by educators when they center their activity on a particular group of children and promote thinking around the same activity. According to Case (2000, p. 76), in this approach knowledge is not only still seen as an own personal internal structure, as the ideal educational process should consists of activities in which guided discovery plays the main role.

Case's reading of the empiricist and rationalist conceptions of knowledge approaches knowledge experience, from the outside in or from the inside out. This knowledge, which Monteil identifies as subjective knowledge, is for Case in the empiricist tradition the result of an accumulation of learning, thus forming a repertoire of "*patterns that we learn to detect and of operations that we can perform on these patterns"* (2000, p.79). When using the rationalist lens, Case notes that knowledge is viewed as *" something constructed by the mind, evaluated according to rational criteria, such as coherence, consistency, and parsimony "* (2000, p. 79).

With cultural visions of knowledge, *'social-historical learning theories'* develop. Case roots this current in Hegel, Marx and the philosophers who followed them. Here, says Case (2000, p. 77), knowledge is based on the social and material history of the culture the subject is a part of. To understand the knowledge children gain as they develop, it is necessary to understand the technology that has created the culture and the way it is used. We also need to explore ways of speaking and belief systems used in the social relationship in learning.

Case recalls the best-known socio-historical theory was formulated by Vygotsky, who sees language acquisition as the most important milestone in children's initial development. The school proves to be important not only because it allows the transmission of discoveries and inventions from one generation to the next, but also because children are involved in scientific conversations with their teachers, who know more. Without this interaction, *"Vygotsky did not believe that high-level thinking could be acquired"* (Case, 2000, p. 77). With this cultural view and the socio-historical learning theory, Case argues that,

> "Knowledge is seen as the creation of a social group, as it engages in its daily interaction and praxis, both modifying and transforming the environment around it" (2000, p. 80).

Knowledge here is comparable to science-knowledge, that which is the result of the confrontation and interaction of subject-authors who share their internalised knowledge-experience, the result of personal interpretation of information.

The singular form of social relationships observed in a specific school is influenced by the choices educators make regarding their view of knowledge and associated learning theories, as well as their choice of what concerns power relations with the class groups for which they have contractual responsibility. School shapes of social relations are presented in a broad spectrum: we find a family of *school shapes of social relations with subject-objects,* that is, of direct instruction. Furthermore, there is a family by *school shapes of social relations with subject-actors* invited to oriented discovery, and a family of *school shapes of subject-author social relations*, adopted in what Case (2000, p. 80) refers to as *"authentic social praxis"*.

The shape of the school: extension of a concept

The way of learning at school is handled in differently in different schools and classes. The differences stem from the underlying pedagogical paradigm. This paradigm is based on a determined view of the knowledge of those who organise the work in a particular classroom or school. Considering the school shape of learning as an immutable shape of social relations is therefore a very narrow in-

terpretation of it. On the contrary, social relationships at school and in the classroom are rather determined by how teachers interpret the relationship to power and how they develop power relations in the context of their work with children.

However, who represents the legitimate power in the modern state gives the school a function of cultural interaction conditioned by what the state's organising elite propagates to the education of its youth. In education organised by the state, knowledge is handled in a specific way, depending on the interpretation those in charge of the representative democracy in that same modern state make of it and on the relationship of that state with the world. That is to say, the elites who legitimately come to power through their election appropriate the school and its shape. Often irrespective of the political cycles, the organising state insists on only one of its variants, which I called hegemonic and which, as a rule, maintains a hierarchical balance of power.

Analysing the predominant shape usually it is quickly noted that the contained relation with power allows for a specific relationship between teacher and knowledge from which instruction emanates where the learner is subjected to. The result of the empirical view of the knowledge development of any educational technique consists of direct instruction, followed by practical practice, and requires a high degree of student motivation even with tools that facilitate transfer (Case, 2000, p.78). The generalisation of school as a means of literacy of ever larger segments of the population, using empiricist models of instruction, propagated a way in which knowledge but also power relations are instructed as a rule and are not the result of co-construction. The massification of education is based on a school organisation model inspired by the division of labo, the industrialisation of production, the division of knowledge into subjects and the organisation of children into class groups where their age or their "intellectual age"[2] measured in tests serves as a criterion. Thus, a homogenised view of the organisation of power was generalised for the school, a view that, in relation to knowledge, is predominantly epistemic (Charlot, 1997).

Ajuda : variant of the social relation in a school shape invariantly of learning.

The analysis of school keeping in the *Voz do Operario da Ajuda*[3] at the decade

[2] In this context see, inter alia, Lesne (1977) and Foucault (1979).

[3] The school keeping in the period analysed is based on a practice with a syntax close to the syntax currently used by the MEM, now discontinued (see below). In 2023 the syntax stil points to the same family of school shapes but evolved regarding Council and the organising of space and time.

1986-1995 based on the characterisation of Vincent *et al.* (1994) shows this characterisation of the school shape applies to shapes of social relations that differ from one school to another because of the way teachers interpret the relationship with power. After making it clear to themselves that they are aiming for an interactive cultural space-time, these teachers, together with the children, set up (and furnish) this space. In cooperation and dialogue they organise the rules and design the work with which the children can interiorise the curriculum based on their own experienced relation with knowledge. The curriculum content in itself remains outside the decision-making power of the class group and is thus in itself non-negotiable within the set up space-time. The teachers are aware of the authority delegated to them, however provide the children with all the necessary information so that, among other things, it becomes possible to undertake work projects of their choice, negotiating how each of the children will master the curriculum. To carry out this social contract, they form a fraternal group, in which the adult as a professional educator is a resource for the children in their learning work.

I briefly summarise the five invariants with which Vincent *et al.* (1994) characterise the school shape and how it is interpreted in the case of the school shape of social relations at the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school:

– The school as a specific place, *separate* from other social practices, is linked to the existence of objectified knowledge.
  In the case of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school, the interactive cultural space-time that each class fills in for itself as a specific place, is the starting point, the arrival point and the new departure point for the projects adopted using or requesting objectified knowledge. In that sense, the school, separated from other social practices, understand this separation of these other social practices *not* in itself, but *involves a close interaction* along. The class not only seeks written information in school itself, but immerses in the space-time of others with whom they interact sharing its experienced knowledge.

– The 'pedagogization' ie the training of social learning relationships resorts to a scriptural coding contained in the grammar of practices.
  When observing the *Voz do Operário of Ajuda*, a pedagogical relationship that is based on the pedagogical communication paradigm (Trindade and Cosme, 2010) is revealed, consisting of a number of organisational and structural features that make up the adopted learning space. Although the students differ from each other, they are grouped into classes where teachers with a generalist profile work together with the children and other adults. The structured spaces are presented as a space-time for contemplation and consolidation. School schedules are limited to regulating the interaction bet-

ween the school space and the non-school space.

If we understand the concept of *'grammar of practice'* as *'grammar of schooled learning'* then there is the possibility of moving on to a '*descriptive grammar of school learning*' suggested by the grammar of schooling of Tyack and Tobin (1994). The case study of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* suggests a mode of operation with a syntax substantially different from the syntax of the instructional paradigm, which in turn suggests a *grammar of practices*, in the plural, arranged as a *comparative grammar*.

– The transfer of knowledge, unlike the transfer of experience, typical of oral social shapes, allows the production of lasting socialisation effects.

Vast research into the school shape of social relations with subject-objects on the one hand and the analysis of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda case* on the other hand show some caution is required with regard to lasting socialisation effects.

Undoubtedly, the acquisition of writing and reading is fundamental to socialisation in any society with scriptural relations shape. The transfer of knowledge in a school context does allow, but does not guarantee, that everyone will master reading and writing. When exclusionary mechanisms inherent in the hegemonic school shape such as normalisation and homogenisation manifest themselves, producing lasting socialisation effects is not for everyone. The transfer of knowledge through instruction has flaws.

The *Ajuda's school of Voz do Operário* shows the appropriation of scriptural-school practice on the one hand by recording[4] the experience and life history of each of the children who "co-constitute", and on the other hand by evidencing the proper experiential knowledge of the founding group of the interactive space-time as well as all the experiential knowledge of all those with whom the class-groups meet on the different workplaces and in social contacts during the implementation of their work projects. This approach that creates routines allowing the appropriation of information through dialogue around work projects generally suggests an increase in the effectiveness of knowledge transfer, but also of skills inherent to socialisation.

– Shapes of social relations, in a particular place, and based on objectification and codification, allow the learning of different ways to manage power.

In the case of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* we observe children and adults who, with the authority of the author "write the class". By granting themselves authority, they allow themselves to make regulatory decisions about their

[4] The concept was developed by Vincent, Lahire and Thin (1994), using the term 'scriptural-scolaire' in French to explain the specificity of the school shape of the relation with knowledge.

work and their social interactions. In this way they learn ways to exercise legal power within the by themselves organised and set up space-time for their work. They set laws and rules by consensus or by vote, analyse the same rules, evaluate their effectiveness and their secondary effects. In doing so, they arrange work routines, discuss the universality of certain decisions and discover limits: can the group decide on the obligation to work at home? They also learn that the Council is not a tribunal but a place for clarification, which does not mean that it has no decision-making power in conflict situations.

Practice from the perspective of the pedagogical communication paradigm can lead to the explanation and codification of rules and routines established by the group organising its cultural space-time of learning in permanent dialogue. The internal discussion establishes a dialectical relationship with the outside world, which makes it possible to improve the regulation of power in the group and to make sense of the power relations perceived outside the classroom or school that the group is confronted with .

– The school shape of social relations is the constitutive social form of a scriptural school relationship with language and the world[5].

I recall that for Vincent *et al.* (1994), it is cultural evidence that school has become the place for learning the language or languages. This is an interaction with language and with the world, which Vygotsky clearly saw: the school is able to promote reflective appreciation what is the explicit mastery of language, the school shape being a social approach of the scriptural-school relationship with language and the world.

In the case of the *Voz do Operário by Ajuda*, this relationship is one of closeness, not of detachment, as happens when the members of the class group are closed in on themselves and are referred to the silence demanded by the rituals of instruction. This creates a clear interaction between the world around the classes and those classes in this school. Great care is taken so that writing retains its double social meaning: to describe the history of each person allowing and enabling the development of interaction with the world. This concern extends to the experimentation and learning of the rules of written communication, applied during the production of cultural works that different subgroups are committed to.

School shapes of social relations: breaking with the blindness of unity thought

The schooled society institutes the school which promotes school socialisation.

[5] Vincent, Lahire and Thin (1994, p.36): "Le rapport scriptural-scolaire au langage et au monde".

And the predominant school shapes of social relations connect well with the homogenising and normative school organisation Tyack and Tobin (1994) encapsulate in what they called the grammar of schooling.

When teachers made into government officials and on the basis of their empirical view of knowledge (Case, 2000) find difficulties in promoting learning in primary schools, many try to strengthen that side of Houssaye's triangle (2004) that connects teacher and knowledge. School education authorities continue to invest in teacher training to make them specialise in one certain aspect of knowledge, so the learner even more becomes the object of the teacher's relationship with this knowledge. Whoever linking this kind of specialised training together with the subject fragmentation of the education of very young children, interprets the concept of differentiation in the sense of separating children with different life experiences from an early age, which reinforces the stratification in school.

At specific historical moments in precise geographically limited spaces standardisation does also legally complicate the plurality of school shapes of social relations. In those cases, the executors of the legal power become more intolerant towards the heterogeneity of the society in which they exercise that power. The singular school shapes of social relations which vary in relation to power or in the pedagogical paradigm from what is prescribed by the legal authorities then tend to develop in their own structures set up by their authors themselves as soon as the legally installed hierarchy deny them access authors to existing public structures. That's what in a certain way happened to Célestin Freinet: forced to leave public school, he set up a private school to further develop the '*pédagogie du peuple*' he endorsed. Nunes (2002, p. 121) mentions the unease the Portuguese rulers of the First Portuguese Republic[6] manifested towards the director of the *Escola Oficina nº1*, César Porto who maintained contact with Célestin Freinet and brought to attention his book *l'imprimerie à l'école*. González describes how, in 1958, Maria Isabel Pereira rediscovered Freinet's pedagogical proposals *"which, through a deliberate action by the Estado Novo[7], along with the best of the Portuguese pedagogical tradition had been obliterated"* (2002, p. 202). Like this teacher, several others introduce into their practice in private schools what Álvaro Viana de Lemos had already made known in Portugal during the first republic when he was director of the Normal School of Coimbra (Candeias, Nóvoa and Figueira, 1995). Some of these private schools became the meeting place of some of the co-founders of the MEM in the 1960s (Gonzalez, 2002).

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6 Established from 1910 to 1926.

7 Period running from 1929 to 1974 with an autocratic government with dictatorial traits that some obscurely refer to as the second republic.

In any case, singular school shapes of social relations resulting from individual or group interventions of actors within education context with conceptions about knowledge that differ from the empirical view are more or less subject to the similar rules and similar conditions, in exactly the same degree to which they change or not the organisation and the structure in which they are integrated .
This is the case for school shapes of social relations with subject-actor reported in the United States of America by Tyack and Cuban (1997), Tyack and Tobin (1994) and by the SCANS report (1992). This is also the case for the self instituting classes with children labeled as 'inappropriate' by the *barracks school* (Pain and Oury, 1972) Fernand Oury describes with Thébaudin (1995), Pochet (1979, 1986) and Vasquez (1967, 1977), and are also revealed by the practice described by Reuter (2007) .

Professional educators, aware of the hierarchical external authority valuing instruction and transferable didactic routines, do not fail to organise themselves, despite that authority. They facilitate and guide the work of the cooperative classes even within the barracks school and guide the development of school shapes of social relations between subject-actors and subject-authors, one of the poles of the *continuum,* rooted in the cultural vision of knowledge and in the socio-historical learning theory. These shapes have in common with the school shape of *the Voz do Operario da Ajuda* their evolutionary and dynamic character resulting from a constant interaction between adults and children who seek the support of the instituting group to host what Sérgio Niza (1998) calls their learning projects.

Practice reports as published in the pedagogical magazine *Escola Moderna* since the first series in 1974 witness to this quest. The magazine of the MEM is the necessary mouthpiece, but not the only one, to support a specific and dynamic school shape characterised by the reflection of those who develop it. Manuela Castro Neves (2006, 2011) is one of the school teachers testifying this school shape of social relations between subject and authors at various moments of its history. The case study of the *Voz do Operário of Ajuda* is one more testimony of a specific moment in a specific time and space revealing not only the legacy of what preceded it but also contributing to what follows taking care to avoid that the development of this school shape becomes a new procedure recipe lead.

In a sense, the professional educators, who consider the heterogeneity of society as a starting point for interactions typical of learning moments, welcome the evolutionary nature of school shapes of social relations that demonstrate the validity of the contributions of the view of knowledge as rationalistic and cultural identified by Case (2000). These professionals adjust these types of school shapes and turn them into dynamic, non-prescriptive proposals for schooling. The cultural and socio-historical view of knowledge and the related socio-historical theories of

learning introduce differentiation as a process that 'heterogeneises' and pluralises. This creates a common offer of primary education in which everyone goes through their own learning process and builds a platform for interaction with each other, with knowledge and with the world.

At the end of the 1990s, Sergio Niza proposes the twelve strategic principles of the MEM that govern the social organisation of the learning act. Some ten years later, from the collective reflection of educators organised in the cooperative self-study groups within the MEM, the syntax of its pedagogical work proposal emerged, which was presented on 20 September 2008 at a seminar as part of a research and training project[8].

The pedagogical paradigm, referred to by Rui Trindade and Ariane Cosme (2010) as the pedagogical communication paradigm, supports the school shape of social relations I analysed. The study of that shape reveals negotiation, information sharing and the establishment of communication circuits as work tools. Both in the classroom and in the institutional context, the permanence of this form is not normatively determined, but the result of the knowledge practitioners produce about it and of the evolution to which it is subject.

The school shape of social relations between subjects-authors ensures the dialectical relationship with other school shapes, for as those who develop it clarify. It is through the debate that they shape their particular action in the space-time in which they work, with the groups of children they are in charge of. The technical ability of these educators to guide the cooperative management of the classroom makes this school shape of social relations sustainable in a wide variety of school contexts[9].

In general, the sustainability of a singular school shape of social relations determined by the power relations based on universal participation and by the cultural and socio-historical view of knowledge depends on the reflection of all those who build it because it is this reflection that makes its evolution possible. The adults and children being protagonists of the action guide this thinking and construction process.

It is therefore not possible to speak of a uniform school shape. It is necessary to accept the school shapes of social relations that have developed throughout history continue to coexist, based on explicit pedagogical paradigms. Because they are not transitory, but maintainable and enduring, together they draw the *con-*

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[8] Information consulted at mam.net.educom.pt/file.php/1/Seminario20Set.pps (accessed 2013-01-13).

[9] See inter alia: Manuela Castro Neves (2006, 2011); Pascal Paul (2013, 2006); Yves Reuter, (2007); Catherine Pochet, Jean Oury and Fernand Oury (1986).

tinuum of school shapes of social relations.

The *continuum* of school shapes of social relations

The critique about school directed to the pedagogical and social relations within it reveals a shape of relations determined by knowledge transfer through instruction and a hierarchical relation with the pyramidal rule where orders and instruction go only from top to bottom. However, research shows that learning at school cannot be grasped in a single school shape of social relations. The variants of the school shape of learning differ from each other: the social relationship in a given space-time is influenced by the way power is perceived to be exercised in the microcosm of the classroom by whom was appointed as representative of legal power. The teacher's considerations, or lack thereof, about the exercise of power in relation to the interaction with knowledge is decisive.

The school shape of learning conceptualised by Lahire (2008) is one devised by men and women for the education of their children in a specific space-time. It is supported by school shapes of social relations that vary among themselves, which I try to visualise in a *continuum* as follows:

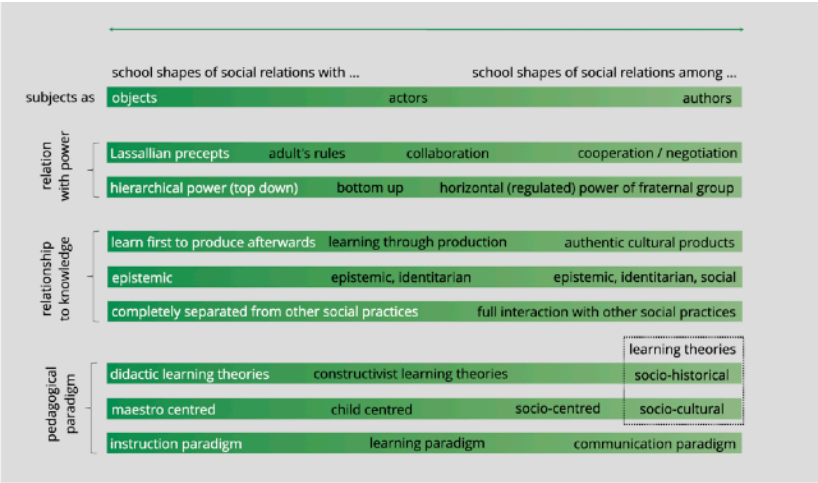

Figure 1: Continuum of school shapes of social relations

I will explain the above figure on the following pages. I run through the scheme from the pole where *school shapes of social relations with subject-objects* are inscribed, to the opposite pole where *school shapes of social relations between subject-authors* are found, through school shapes *of social relations with subject-actors* that are between the two poles are located.

In order not to give the impression that these are type-forms, I hypothesise this sliding *continuum* of social relations with and between subjects for which singular forms can be grouped into three major groups or 'families' with no sharp boundaries between the families.

School shapes of social relations with subject-objects

In one of the poles of the *continuum* is the 'family' of school shapes, which are characterised by social relations with subject-objects. We observe this kind of relationship whenever the teacher and the student are both objects of the hierarchical power that guides them, as in the *barracks school* (Pain and Oury, 1972) or in the precepts of Lassalle (Foucault, [1975] 2009). The same relationship continues when the teacher frees himself from his subjection to hierarchical power, but exercises it over the students. In these school shapes of social relations with subject-objects we find precepts or rules set by the teacher without input from the students. Hierarchical power in the microcosm of the classroom or school is from above.

In this family, the variant of relation to knowledge appears to be mainly epistemic (Charlot, 1997). One learns first and then produces in almost no situation has a dialogic relationship with other social learning practices.

The pedagogical paradigm is that of instruction (Trindade and Cosme, 2010). The action is teacher-centred (Altet, 1999) and is part of this pedagogical paradigm. As Case (2000) reminds us, the action is based on direct instruction followed by practice where the adults have an empirical view of knowledge. This direct instruction, where all action is done by the teacher, is considered the most effective way to teach children and young people about the world. The educators and teachers who practice this way of teaching resort to didactic learning theories to ensure their action of educating the world to the children of the school.

School shapes of social relations with subject-actors

Between the two poles of the *continuum* is a second family of school shapes of social relations. This family of shapes represents social relations between subjects where adults give an active role to children. Usually, children are offered a pedagogical scenario that invites them to participate as actors, to learn to understand and reflect on the world.

In this area of the *continuum* of school shapes of social relations with subject-actors, the variant in relation to the power exercised at school or in the classroom is defined as hierarchical. The adult's rules determine the action and the children are invited to certain tasks to participate in organising the activities. Teachers listen to

children in dual or group relation and make decisions based on what they heard, possibly allowing children to participate in the management of one or more workspaces. In the hierarchical authority pyramid, information not only flows from top to bottom, but there are collection mechanisms that ensure that information can also flow from bottom to top.

As for the variant for the relation to knowledge the family of school shapes of social relations with subject-actors is characterised by working tools that enable students to learn through processes of producing objects and reproduce everyday situations. For these processes, the information may have been simplified and supplemented by systematisation or with additional explanations from the teacher. The work situations created do not come exclusively from the textbook, but include experiential activities. The social practice of school learning interacts in a simulated context or in the context of direct observation with other social learning practices.

The family of school shapes of social relations with subject-actors shows variations which, although in some aspects situated within the pedagogical instructional paradigm, as a whole are mainly defined by the pedagogical learning paradigm (Trindade and Cosme, 2010). The implementation of the school work is globally led and controlled by the teacher whereas the students listen and observe. The class is invited to actively participate in tasks programmed by the teacher. The tasks for practice and memorisation work are organised and compiled for individual use, such as with Skinner's programmed instruction referred to by Case (2000) or with materials from the Dalton Plan of the Winnetka school (Tyack and Tobin, 1994, Vásquez & Oury, 1967). On certain occasions, pupils are invited by the teacher to organise themselves in workshops, as in the proposals of the *Escola Oficina* or the League schools for New Education at the beginning of the twentieth century (Candeias, Nóvoa and Figueira, 1995). We also find these school shapes in some courses and training in current primary schools with work packages for entrepreneurship at school. Using Altet's (1999) classification, the pedagogical action fits into what the author identified as the child-centred current. Professional educators who invoke school shapes of social relations with subject-actors find their basis in the constructivist theories that Case associates with Spelke and Piaget: an educational practice driven by '*guided discovery*' (Case, 2000, p.79) and with a view of knowledge as a mind-constructed good. Discovery led by the teacher therefore gives the learner the opportunity to understand and build knowledge about the world. So, Case continues, learning is seen as a process that takes place when the mind applies an existing structure to a new experience in order to make sense of it.

School shapes of social relations between subjects-authors

At the right pole of the *continuum* we find the family of school shapes of social relations between subject-authors.

In this family the observed variant of the relation with power is about a classroom as a space for negotiation. In the workspace-time of the learning group there is a regulated power *with* and *between* all. The children and the adult or adults organise themselves depending on a desired production. The group is fraternally concerned with the regulation of spaces and working hours. This cooperative regulation arises from a horizontal organisation of authority. The group defines, among its members, the necessary rules so that everyone can enjoy everything that is made available to the learning community. This includes the collective deployment of precisely those instruments that allow supervision of the distribution of authoritative responsibilities arising from collective decisions, and the way in which those responsible use the power that has been assigned to them. At the same time, the group confronts its own organisation with the surrounding rules and analyses what has been imposed externally. The instituting group determines the boundaries of its field of action and determines its interaction with others, outside of the space-time it organises. Thus, the analysis of power structures is done both within their group and within the school setting in which they are placed.

With regard to variations in relation to knowledge, this third family consciously and intentionally combines school shapes of social relations with what Charlot (1997, p.88) identifies as the trinity of epistemic relation, identity relation, and social relation to knowledge. In short, the author argues that, in order to understand the relation with knowledge, it is necessary to take into account two important points: on the one hand, the analysis of the relation with knowledge as social connection and interaction is not separate from the analysis of the epistemic and identity dimensions, but through them. On the other hand, this analysis concerns social histories and not just positions or trajectories, understood as shifts between positions. For Charlot (1997), it is about seeing learning not as a way of accessing the world, but as a way of appropriating the world, which leads to taking up a certain position in it.

As mentioned earlier, for Monteil (*apud* Charlot, 1997, p.70) knowledge science is suitable information resulting from the production of a subject in confrontation with other subjects. And when, as Case states (2000, p.80),

> "knowledge is seen as the creation of a social group, as it engages in its day-to-day interaction and praxis, both modifying and transforming the environment around it,"

then the mediation and organisation of learning in group or with peers through the production of work projects based on the history of the group and on the culture and history of the environment in which the group is incorporated is a logical step. The group establishes a dialectical relationship between its history, its experience and the knowledge of the world through the available information. Learning through the production of *authentic cultural and intellectual works* (Serralha, 2009, p.26) obliges the members of the above bargaining space to supervise the group's own work, depending on the collective curriculum project, individual projects, and relationship with the externally imposed curriculum. The work and the developing relationship with knowledge thus reinforce the need for a non-hierarchical but horizontal power relationship, so that the adult (or adults) and children, in addition to the regulation of space-time, also discuss production processes. Everyone has the opportunity — and everyone is encouraged to express wishes — to develop the project that makes sense to them.

As for the pedagogical paradigm, in this family of school shapes of social relations, and returning to Case (2000), the view of knowledge is based on the socio-historical epistemology of Hegel and Marx and the modern European philosophers who followed them, leading to the socio-historical theory of learning. For Case (2000, p.77) this theory has Vygotsky as its main protagonist and underpins the learning communities proposed and developed by authors such as Lave and Wenger. The figure of room for negotiation that the class assumes in school shapes of social relations between subject-authors, and the interactive negotiation character of this pedagogical proposal, means that with Trindade and Cosme (2010) we have included this school shape in the pedagogical communication paradigm. Altet (1999) talks about socio-centred pedagogy in her learning pedagogies. It is socio-centred because it wants to form a social person and therefore requires interaction between students and between students and the teacher. When Altet (1999) speaks of socio-centred pedagogy, she refers to social organisation in the context of the classroom. In their explanation of the pedagogical communication paradigm, Trindade and Cosme (2010) add interpretive elements and elements of the relationship with the world, with the other and in action in relation to knowledge, thereby falling back on Charlot. The case study of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* in the 1980s and 1990s suggests an interpretation of, communication with, and intervention in the world that transcends the confines of the classroom. Some testimonies of later practice[10] illustrate the same intervention, from reading the world that makes it understandable for students.

[10] See, inter alia, Correia (2012) and Paulus (2004 and 2006).

Taught or understandable world: the two poles of the continuum

The brief characterisation on the previous pages was intended to facilitate the visualisation of the *continuum of school shapes of social relations.* The *continuum* represents on the one hand shapes of relationship with subject-objects and on the other hand shapes of relationship between subject-authors, the central group being characterised by shapes of relationship with subject-actors. These shapes coexist in the school of developed society, since the school became generalised*,* and *therefore* they are placed in the continuum not in a *diachronic* way but in a *synchronous* one.

The synchronic nature emphasises the evolutionary principle of the elements that make up each family of shapes in itself, often through the research of educational professionals. The more these professionals see themselves as contributors to a singular shape or shape family, and whenever they are actively involved through the pedagogical and sociological discussion that ensues, the more dynamic this shape or family reveals itself.

In other words, teachers who organise themselves into communities of practice to better understand the relationship they form with the power and action they develop in relation to knowledge when working with the group of children or young people over whom they are legally responsible, show how it pedagogical paradigm evolves and adapts to what the practice and the theorising that follows brings them, making them advance in their reflection: they begin to give a dynamic character to the school form of social relations they develop.

On the other hand, teachers who adopt a more passive attitude towards the school shape of social relationships they develop, contribute to the maintenance of rituals and routines that underlie them.

In general, the more normative and prescriptive a school shape of social relations is, the less dynamic it becomes. Such is the case at the pole of the *continuum* with the family of school shapes of social relations with subject-objects, revealing a world taught, hierarchical and instructed, arising from an empirical view of knowledge, where children are the object of administrated knowledge fragmented into subjects by the teachers. Subject to processes that have crystallised into procedures reapplied by adults *ad aeternum*, children risk stagnating in the zones of development they have already reached. There is, to use Bruner's words (*apud* Kruger and Tomasello, 2000, p.311) something like a burden on children's heads: adults expect them to learn from instructions and often punish them severely if they do not comply with this expectation. When the school shape of social relations is static, the failure of the child becomes the failure of the educational method.

School shapes of social relations between subject-authors are inscribed at the

other pole of the *continuum*. The more a shape flows from the thought process about it produced by the subjects involved, the more we can think of it as a non-ending dynamic shape. This process is based on three types of dialogue: it articulates the school shape inscribed in the time in which it locates itself with the evolution of the society from which the institution to which the implementation of the appropriation of cultural heritage has been delegated has emerged; it enters into conversation with other singular shapes as soon as they are inscribed in the *continuum*; and it interacts with other social practices.

School shapes of social relations between subject-authors seem to be relations based on the interaction that takes place in the historical and social context of their actors, which are at the origin of the production of authentic cultural works (Serralha, 2009), when adults facilitate and encourage social connection and interaction with knowledge (Charlot, 1997). They make the world understandable for children who appropriate new knowledge to the extent that they relate it to previous experiences and knowledge, confronting themselves with knowledge within **and** outside the group. The dialogue that underpins this production forces adults to accept that they are constantly being prompted to reflect on their actions with children: they rethink their pedagogical approaches, commit themselves to a dynamic relationship with the knowledge produced on the field of education and they are forced to confront school shapes of social relations that stimulate the consciousness of everyone, adults and children, regardless of the context of origin. When Charlot (1997, p. 93) assumes the definition of the relation-action with knowledge-science, he notes that this science of knowledge is the organised series of relations a subject develops with everything related to *learning*. The author says it is the interaction that a subject develops with an object, a '*thought content*', an activity, a relationship, a person, a place, a situation, etc, and at the same time it is an interaction-relation with language, with time, with activity in and about the world, with others, with oneself, more or less able to learn that thing, in that situation.

I have associated with the three groups of school forms of social relations inscribed in the proposed *continuum* the three views of knowledge formulated by Case (2000), which for the author produce specific learning theories with equally specific teaching techniques. The combination of this view of knowledge and awareness that adults have about their role as teachers is related to the school shape of social relationships they will adopt for their work with children or young people in the exercise of their functions. That is, the singularity of a school shape in a class or a school is a function of the relationship to power and knowledge assumed by who in that class or school represents the legal power of those who organise the school.

As professional educators, the adults have several possible avenues. They stick to

the taught world, from an empirical understanding of knowledge (Case, 2000) or they question their relationship to knowledge, where the intelligible world becomes the starting point for reformulating it.

The adaptability of the school shape.

In the previous point I systematised the hypothesis of a *continuum* of school shapes of social relations and suggested the possibility that a single school shape or a specific family of school shapes is dynamic, thanks to the considerations that educational professionals make about those same forms .

The starting point is to check whether school socialisation interpreted as a systemic phenomenon presents itself as a static fact: society installs an institution with a specific organisation of classes with children divided by age and, in many cases, by skills tested by standardised tests. A form of instruction is implanted in this organisation and presented as universal, leading to the naturalisation of the phenomenon.

The description and analysis of practice in the case study[11] covering the school shape of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* between 1985 and 1995, as well as many others preceding the decade in question (Vasquez and Oury, 1967; Pain and Oury, 1972; Pochet and Oury, 1979; Gonzalez, 2002; Nunes, 2002) and following it (Serralha , 2001, 2007; Reuter, 2007) show the evolution of the school shape of social relations between subject-authors. Touraine (1996, p.67) is joined here when he speaks of the institution, not as *an instituted* institution, but as *an instituting* institution. In line with this author's idea that social life does not arise from the idea of society, but that society presents itself with a set of rules and customs that are subject to change, a dynamic form of school is designed when the help of creative forces is invoked to determine that evolution. The dynamic school shape also illustrates Foucault's position on the non-existence of enduring values.

The singular school shape as a result of the relationship between people, based on a proposal from teachers within an institution, suggests the twin question: (1) do people change the institution, and if so, how? And (2) how does the institution change people's actions?

On the following pages and for the first question I will try to systematise *constituent elements of the dynamic school shape*. I do this by looking at what I considered to be variation factors for school shape, in this case more specifically the pedagogical paradigm factor. I try to formulate a syntax for each of the paradigm variati-

[11] For the fieldwork, see volume 2 *Memories at the shadow of a fig tree.*

ons that I associate with the school shapes of social relations families described in the previous point.

For the second question, Tyack and Tobin (1994) outline an answer when they discuss the normative interpretation made of what they called the grammar of schooling, which I will return to in *From school education to learning at school*. These authors describe the difficulty of avoidance that a grammar of *normative* interpretation of education is formed with a typing practice for the *"real school"* whereby no descriptions of school practices are accepted that differ from each other and differ from what, in the minds of many, corresponds to the standardised school whose shape of social relations is characterised by the hierarchical relationship to power, and where knowledge is transferred only in standardised packages.

I end this point by questioning the zone of contact between school shape and school organisation.

Constituent elements of the dynamic school shape

When agents and representatives of the legal power widely adopted the Lassallian type school shape of subject-object social relations, they created the illusion that there is a natural school shape to which all children in the educated world are subject. Inevitably, dropping out of school became a problem for the individuals rather than being regarded as the result of an imperfect way of schooling.

This imperfect shape of schooled learning leads subjects to depend on a minimal order wrapped up in a curriculum that represents a normalised world in a school outside that world. The world is a series of bundles, elaborated on the basis of the available knowledge and regionalised according to the precepts of the elites of a determined nation-state. The consumption of that knowledge is mandatory as a requirement for formatting different types of citizens.

One same shape of school is so widely represented in educated society that it assumes compelling and immutable contours for various whether or not coinciding reasons. It is characterised by an empirical view of knowledge, in which children are informed about the world. Governments establish a relationship between this instruction and obtaining a job. This view has persisted since the glorious thirty years of the last century, which in the northern hemisphere of the planet in several countries meant economies defined as having full employment. Compulsory education would remain a guarantee of employability, as it ensured access to the world of paid work, as long as the young person exemplary takes up its *student craft,* as Perrenoud called the school work. The exemplary subject-object would qualify for success. In the Christian schools of the eighteenth century, the system

was based on the distribution of points that could be exchanged to redeem oneself from a sin and free oneself from a punishment (Foucault, [1975] 2009, p.174) . In the schools of the twentieth century and even more our century that maintain school shapes of social relations with subject-objects, people accumulate the "points" or "credits" through individual performance in tests and examinations, guaranteeing their own permanence in the school system, thus they be freed from the burden of being viewed as excluded failures.

However, the empirical view of knowledge, consistent with the development of a kind of school focusing on teaching individuals in groups, seems inconsistent with the way learning processes historically operate. Kruger and Tomasello point out that much of what we learn is the result of cooperative work :

> "What children learn individually, in their culture's environment, are patterns that emerge from cultural, cooperative learning processes" (2000, p.309).

In hierarchical contexts that are more or less coercive with regard to the school shape, the one who leads the group of learners is the one who initially makes an individual choice: whether or not to relinquish hierarchical authority in developing the social relations established with the group of learners, and whether or not to undertake the cooperative learning process among professionals. When that is the choice, interaction with others will provide contributions from sociology and psychology to understanding the school shapes of social relations. This understanding changes the space of interaction within the community with which the learning process takes place and makes the teachers authors of their own intellectual work, creating a process of awareness. The perception of the class group as an interactive cultural space-time arises from this awareness, in the sense that Freire gives to the word[12]. As a professional educator, the adult then tries to mediate the children's learning process, through the use of criticism, and according to Úcar (2011, p.37) of critique with criteria, because only then can one can decide when to be critical and when not.

In this case, the authors make the designed school form dynamic which becomes sustainable through the actors who generate it. The social relationships thus consciously built as a group evolve, adjust and change depending on the moment and place, in the narrow sense and in the broad sense, where they take place.

When the school shape is not reflected on by the people who instituted it or use it, it ceases to be dynamic, becomes static, and eventually dogmatic. As Nietzsche says, a master is ill-rewarded by who remains a disciple, that is, by who remains uncritical of the master.

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[12] Freire (2002, p.226).

I remember that in the *continuum* I have divided the school shapes of social relations into three families characterised by the variation in the relation to power and knowledge and in the variation of the pedagogical paradigm. In one of the poles I placed the school shapes of social relations with subject-objects, in the other the social school shapes between subject-authors. Between the two poles I placed the school shapes of social relations with subject-actors. The school shapes of the first pole are those in which the work of the teacher is central and a hierarchical power relationship is maintained with the students. At the other pole are the school shapes where the work focuses on the desire of the group questioned and framed by the adult to produce original work, to communication and have constant internal and external interaction.

Factors of variation are observed to frame the continuum of school shapes of social relations. The school shapes differs from school to school *as* and *when* the relationship to power and knowledge varies, a relationship associated with a particular pedagogical paradigm. When it comes to school shapes of social relations between subjects-authors, globally this variation is continuous over time as it adjusts locally to the group. When the school shape does not adjust to the group it promotes the emergence of a hierarchical relationship of authority and an organisation and management of the curriculum to which teachers and students are subject without determining their own actions.

I here open parenthesis to introduce an element that will facilitate the understanding of the relationship between the school shape and the school organisation, that is, between the school shapes of school relations of the continuum and the grammar of schooling Tyack and Tobin (1994) suggest interpreted as descriptive grammar. I think herewith the syntax proposed by the MEM to describe its pedagogical model. I use the suggestion of syntax to propose one for each of the pedagogical paradigms I associated with school shapes of social relations in the two poles of the *continuum* hypothesis.

The *praxis* of the pedagogical instruction paradigm (Trindade and Cosme, 2010), which I associated with what is considered the predominant school shape of social relations with subject-objects both by whom defending it as often by those who criticised it can be represented by the syntax in table 1 on next page.

This variant of the school shape places the main action at the teacher and uses a school organisation in classes that are intended to be homogeneous. With individual work that depends on teacher instruction and supervised work that closely follows this instruction, what might initially be seen as pedagogical differentiation within the classroom is difficult to implement in practice.

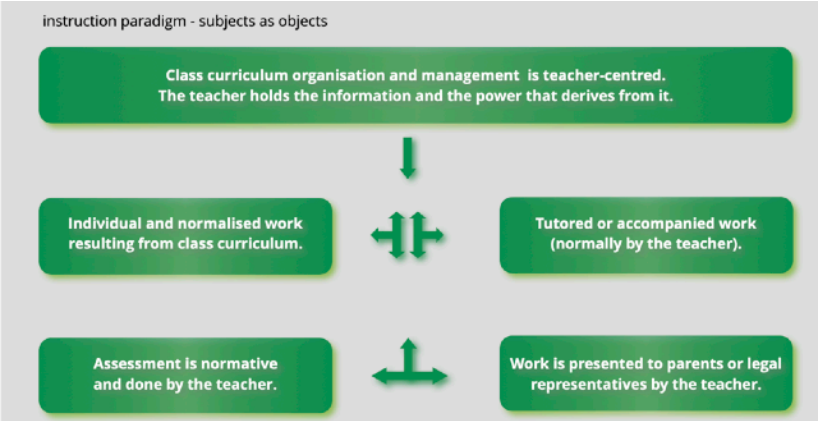
instruction paradigm - subjects as objects
Class curriculum organisation and management is teacher-centred.
The teacher holds the information and the power that derives from it.
Individual and normalised work resulting from class curriculum.
Tutored or accompanied work (normally by the teacher).
Assessment is normative and done by the teacher.
Work is presented to parents or legal representatives by the teacher.

Table 1: Syntax proposal for the pedagogical paradigm of instruction.

Table 2 suggests the syntax for the pedagogical paradigm of learning associated with school shapes of social relations with subject-actors.

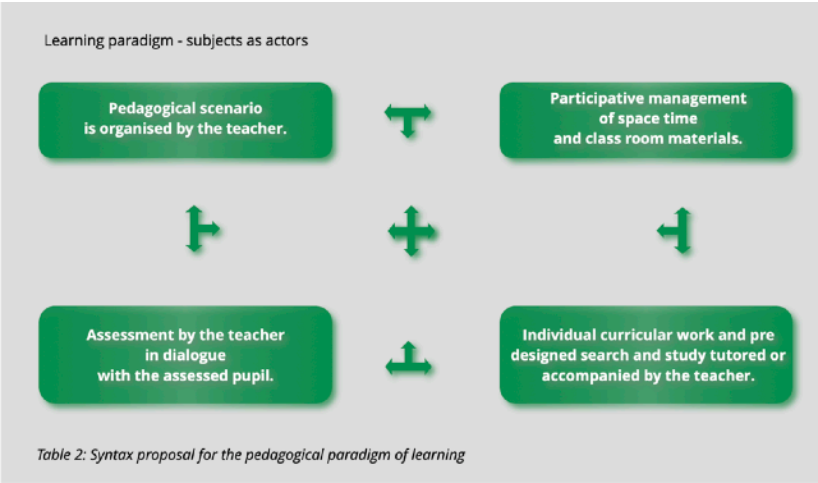
Learning paradigm - subjects as actors
Pedagogical scenario is organised by the teacher.
Participative management of space time and class room materials.
Assessment by the teacher in dialogue with the assessed pupil.
Individual curricular work and pre designed search and study tutored or accompanied by the teacher.

Table 2: Syntax proposal for the pedagogical paradigm of learning

At the right pole of the *continuum* hypothesis are the school shapes of social relations between subject-authors with a syntax I base on the model presented by the MEM in 2012 (table 3 on next page).

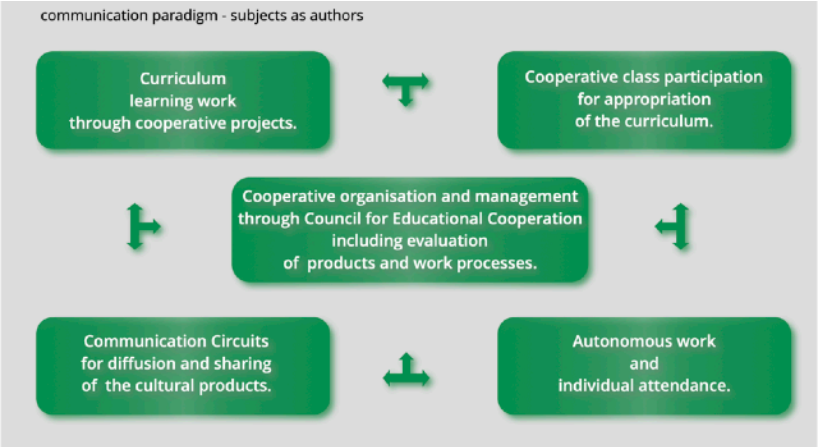

Table 3: Syntax proposal for the pedagogical paradigm of communication, based on the MEM (version 2012)

The syntax is of the *praxis* of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* in the period under study (table 4) is, in a sense, an older variant of the syntax of the working model presented by the MEM since 2008.

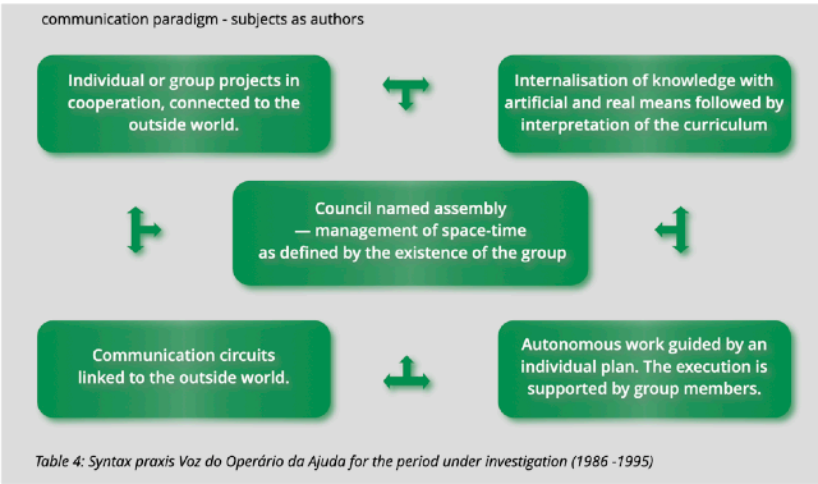
communication paradigm - subjects as authors
Individual or group projects in
cooperation, connected to the
outside world.
Internalisation of knowledge with
artificial and real means followed by
interpretation of the curriculum
Council named assembly
— management of space-time
as defined by the existence of the group
Communication circuits
linked to the outside world.
Autonomous work guided by an
individual plan. The execution is
supported by group members.

Table 4: Syntax praxis Voz do Operário da Ajuda for the period under investigation (1986 -1995)

From one syntax to another we find the Assembly conceptually becoming a Council for Educational Cooperation and an interactive cultural space-time strongly focused on interaction with the outside world. Both guarantee a participatory and direct democracy, where the choice of work projects is largely based on the wishes of the founding group's subjects.

The syntax of the *practice* of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* in the observed period, and the syntax close to the practice model of the MEM illustrate a work proposal in evolution at a certain point in its history. Its provisional syntax is for the *praxis* inherent in the pedagogical paradigm of communication, because of the central element, in both, related to group management.

More universal than the syntax of the *praxis* of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda, a school* that has only a few class groups of the first stage of primary education, the syntax proposed by MEM refers to the pedagogical action in kindergarten, primary and secondary education. The starting point in this association is the development of theories about the individual and collective action of teachers who think about the profession of which they are co-builders.

The case study of *the Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, as well as the many descriptions of earlier and later practices, suggest that the school shapes of social relations between subject-authors present themselves as dialogic. They show characteristics of a dynamic school shape of social relations. Possessing a past and a thoughtful present that demonstrates its durability, this group of school shapes of social relations may contain the elements to contribute to the school of the future.

From school education towards learning at school

The school shapes of social relations discussed above vary in relation to power and knowledge, just as they vary in the pedagogical paradigm. The praxis syntax is to incorporate those variations. However, all variants together form the school shape of learning proposed by Vincent *et al.* (1994). This school shape of learning takes place in the school institution which has a specific organisation.

The interplay between form and organisation suggests a more extensive *comparative grammar of schooled learning* then the *grammar of schooling* suggested by Tyack and Tobin (1994). In their *grammar of schooling* , a concept I've translated as *schooling grammar* or *grammar of school education*, the authors choose to describe school education by combining elements of the organisation dimension and elements of the shape dimension, in particular the scholastic form of social relations with subject-objects. The authors themselves explain that for the metaphor used they mainly refer to the most common structures and rules organising **the instructional work** (1994, p.454), and that they thought of standardised organisational practices such as the division of time and space, the division of students into classrooms, and the 'fragmentation of subjects'. They explain that they use the term 'grammar' because, like language, learning can also be thought of simultaneously as a ***descriptive process*** (how things are) and a ***normative proposition*** (how

things should be) (Tyack and Tobin, 1994, p.454). Finally, João Barroso, with his summary of this article, sketches an educational organisation very limited to the school shape of social relations with subjects-objects, with a pedagogical instructional paradigm:

> "a persistent (and almost unchanging) set of organisational and structural features that form an integral part of our view of teaching: (1)[13] students grouped in graduated classes, with (2) a homogeneous composition and a little variable number of effectives; (3) teachers who always act individually with a generalist profile (primary education) or as a specialist (secondary education); (4) structured spaces for school action, creating a pedagogy essentially focused on the classroom; (5) rigid school schedules that provide social control of school time; (6) knowledge organised in school subjects, which are the structuring references of teaching and pedagogical work" (Barroso, 2004, p.53).

Tyack and Tobin (1994, p.453) question the exceptional stability of some institutional ways of schooling, marginalising many other ways. Observing the American schools, the authors note how some locally introduced elements of certain variations become part of the general grammar, while others do not. They believe that the politically desired institutional continuity leads to fringe forms — I would say school shapes — that require greater organisational effort on the part of the teachers involved, or force many simultaneous changes in what is perceived as the norm.

The centralised organisation of the school, which is at the root of the hegemonic school shape, leads to the normative reading of the grammar of schooling, while observing all singular school shapes of social relations allows for a more versatile description of the reality of learning at school. The necessary effort that guarantees the sustainability of a dynamic school shape is contained in the reflection capacity of the education professionals and in the thinking involvement of the students. The setting up of communities of practice and learning that are isomorphic to the developed school shape is part of the necessary effort to ensure the sustainability of that same school shape.

We find the school shape of social relations with subject-objects, with a pedagogical instructional paradigm, at all levels of formal education. The isomorphism applies to all subjects whether in training of teacher educators, in teacher education in vocational training, in secondary school, in primary schools and often even in kindergarten.

On the other hand, it is not easy to observe the communication paradigm in academic training as well and in teacher education, as can be illustrated with the

[13] I've added the numbering to make it more readable. The same numbering is repeated later on page 183.

practical descriptions by the working groups within the institutional pedagogy or by the cooperative groups for self-study in the MEM (Gonzalez, 1992; Niza, 1997).

The extension of a *grammar of schooling* towards a more universal *comparative grammar of learning at school*, for which I use a non-normative but an interpretative proposal, can contribute for observing school shapes of social relations, the trends of their effectiveness within the organisational contexts of different schools, extending isomorphism within formal education to other school shapes of social relations besides the most general school shape. This extension includes some presuppositions. The first three points were covered in the previous pages and for the last three points I comment after this summary:

a) **The school shape of learning consists of shapes of social relationships** that differ from each other in power and knowledge approach. These shapes of social relations arise from different pedagogical paradigms, rooted in specific syntaxes for each of the approaches.

b) The multiplicity of school shapes of social relations that can be grouped into families with certain characteristics gives rise to **a synchronous and non-diachronic continuum of shapes**, which relate to different types of school organisation.

c) School practices differ from each other in the syntax of a particular pedagogical paradigm of a particular school shape of social relations. Therefore a **singular school practice** give rise to their own **descriptive grammar**[14].

d) Descriptive grammars differ for different school shapes with different systemic organisations with no one-to-one relationship between them; that is, **there is no one-to-one relationship between the school organisation and the school shape of social relations**.

e) The set of descriptive grammars of school shapes of social relations in diffe-

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14 "The **normative grammar** is the grammar that prescribes the rules of good speech and writing and has as reference the language used by good authors, by a socially dominant group" (Lisbon Academy of Sciences, 2001, p.1923).
"A ***normative grammar*** does not say what the units, constructions, categories of a language are, nor does it explain how those elements work, nor does it analyse elements of the language. It is the ***descriptive grammar*** that says how the language is structured and how it works. The normative grammar makes recommendations about the use of the language" (Travaglia in an interview with Modesto, 2005).
"The ***descriptive grammar*** is the grammar that describes and records (and is thus in a synchronous approximation) a particular language variety at a particular point in its existence" (Travaglia ***apud*** Mendes, 19-06-2008).
"The ***comparative grammar*** [is the] discipline that studies, from a comparative perspective, different languages" (Lisbon Academy of Sciences, 2001, p.1923).

rent contexts suggests **a dialogue through the use of a *comparative grammar* *of learning at school***.

f) **Comparative** grammar **does not deny the existence of invariants** just as school shape theory does not, even if it is the result of discussions and transformations. In either case, understanding the facts from their local, historical and cultural context should facilitate discussion, recognising that such discussion is constrained by cultural beliefs in relation to the nature of the school (Tyack and Tobin, 1994, p. pp. 456).

It is therefore not a matter of replacing one grammar with another, but of contributing to the reflection on the concept of schooling and the discussion in relation to the cultural construction of education. The disclosure of the often normative use of a grammar, through the description and comparison of local variations, should allow the human project of 'pedagogization' of learning to evolve culturally when this 'pedagogization' comes about in a specific space-time in which the educational relationship is developed between adults and children.

We can extend the *grammar of schooling,* from the synthesis that João Barroso made to propose a *comparative grammar of learning at school*: this grammar studies a range of organisational and structural features, some static, others evolutionary, integral parts of our images related to teaching and learning at school. It provides us with organisational modes with (1)[15] learners in instructional groups or learning communities, with or without resorting to graduate classes. These groups or communities are composed in different ways but (2) always by people with different characteristics, having a small variable number of effectives and in many cases are of supposed homogeneity for one or more than one characteristic. Adults, (3) professional educators, work in groups or individually, with a generalist or specialist profile. There are (4) structured spaces of specific school action that relate to the outside world in different ways and present themselves as a transient cultural space. (5) School time is socially controlled and regulates interaction with the outside world. The (6) science of knowledge is organised in a curriculum, creating areas of knowledge that are references in pedagogical work.

A *comparative grammar of school learning* like the one I have proposed here, consisting of descriptive grammars that combine different elements from the *continuum* of school shapes of social relations with other elements characteristic of a specific school organisation, facilitates the dialogue between singular school shapes and makes It is possible to better explain what unites them and what separates them. The Dutch organisations of Jenaplan schools on the one hand and Frei-

[15] Numbering is identical to the one on page 181.

net schools on the other hand knew how to do that and defined a platform for cooperation in the production of materials for the aspects that unite them. Dialogue between school shapes of social relations is no longer possible if and when there is a normative interpretation of one particular grammar which complicates interaction and avoids the incorporation of new elements from the outset, because no thinking is proposed to evolve the school shape in question.

The comparative grammar makes it possible to observe local variations of global seemingly immutable contexts.

Tyack and Tobin (1994) argue that what is considered the real school by a large majority of people, which is reflected in the normative interpretation of the grammar of the proposed education, can be explained by the similarity between schools in most places of schooled societies. Descriptions by American authors such as Tyack and Cuban (1997), Gatto (2003), Kincheloe (2006), or European authors such as Pain and Oury (1972), Charlot (1997), Rochex (1995) or Van Zanten (dir., 2000) portray this 'real school' as being the school shape of social relations with subject-objects, limited to the instructional paradigm. Only this school shape requires homogenising organisational contexts: we see that for school shapes of social relations with subject-objects, the school organisation appears to be little permeable to the world outside the classroom.

But where the school shape of subject-object social relations requires a school organisation with segregated classes and a homogeneous audience in age and knowledge mastery of the prescribed curriculum in closed class groups, the opposite is not true. In the same school organisation other school shapes of social relations are possible and described in practice reports written by teachers from, for example, the MEM, or the Institutional Pedagogy. School systems in other countries point in the same direction: there is no one-to-one relationship between the school shape of social relations and the school organisation.

It is also possible to examine whether school shapes of social relations between subject authors are developed in different school contexts.

Some who experienced such a social relationship as a child within the specific organisation of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school testifies in a letter: "*We feel that we were seen as full-fledged people who are responsible for ourselves and not as children who do not know anything and not knowing how to do anything or make decisions. In primary education, we don't just learn to write. We also learn how to be human being and how to face life.*" Here, the entire work environment is organised in such a way that children can speak up and become participants in the management of the workspace-time. They participate in power, as apprentices, to build their own work project, in collaboration with the project of all others involved. It is a collecti-

ve work, as is all knowledge-science construction. The group includes the learning process through the relationship between people interacting and organising their space, the first work being to become literate. The cooperative work stems from the existence of a group that assumes that the existing differences enrich the discussions and make the approaches to the themes more complete.

But such school shapes of social relations also function in artificially homogenised organisational environments, such as the barracks schools described by Pain and Oury (1972). Practice descriptions suggest that they adapt to any context better than any other school shape, while the relation to power that characterises them made them *"disrupt the organisation, making it richer in learning stimuli"* (Niza, 1998b, 2012) .

School shapes of the family of social relations between subject-authors are possible and sustainable in the first place thanks to the thinking of the educational professionals involved. The reflection coupled with the realisation of the role they play as adults leads them to understand that the mediation of the students' learning process, including the appropriation of the formal and non-negotiable curriculum, does not require a hierarchical chain relationship with power. In general, within the school setting, adults who are thoughtfully aware of their educationally action, and thus a learning process, ar able to turn themselves into non-functionaries. When they do this, and every time they do it, this act of 'de-agenting' is necessarily accompanied by children's 'de-studenting': the adult no longer looks at *alumni*, those well-tamed little slaves and school prisoners who are receivers of deposited instruction, and begins to share the information in their possession with the children, considering them work partners, even though they have different starting points precisely because they are children. Adults have become democrats towards the children and thus gain legitimacy to lead the educational process. They openly manifest it, making the classroom an interactive cultural space-time open to compromise and negotiation. They begin to lead the group on the basis of a cooperatively developed educational project. These educational professionals who think with others and rely on a *descriptive grammar* as part of the *comparative grammar of school learning* can thus prevent their practice from crystallising into routines caused by the normative interpretation of a grammar of schooling.

Towards the welcoming school?

Learning doesn't start at school and it doesn't end at school. The school is indispensable in an schooled society, but it does not evolve, nor does it allow everyone to evolve in its womb, if it limits itself to adopting a shape of social relations with subject-objects in which thinking is hindered or blocked as well as organisational capacity. This shape of social relations is maintained by an undemocratic organisation led by

elites. However, the human thinking capacity of any bearer of projects promotes other school shapes of social relations, sustainable and supported by its protagonists. In fact, regardless of the school shape of learning, one should not forget that:

> "Humans are unique in that having developed capacities for conscious self-reflection, cultural transmission of skills and knowledge through language and other symbolic means, cumulative technological development and civilisation" (Keating, 2000, p.383).

In all circumstances, the school shape of social relations of any school is singular, because it depends on the relation the teachers involved take up with power.

The similarities that emerge between shapes, from one school to another, lead to families of shapes.

The Lassallian family of social school shapes with subject-objects is introduced through to the hierarchical behaviour of those who exercise the legal power. This family of school shapes is apparently sustainable thanks to those in power (and supporting this family of shapes) considering it democratic to make the school an instrument for all the people of a given area to model and train. The logic of power of the elites feeds on a normative grammar of schooling. This shape occurs in at least two variants: the installed power resorts to a not very knowledgeable teacher from the barracks school (Pain and Oury, 1972) or resorts on recruited teachers who are aware they were chosen for developing teachers-centred models where the student is the object of the teacher-instructor relationship with the subject knowledge. In certain circumstances, such behaviour becomes authoritarian or autocratic: other forms of school are made impossible by norms, regulations and instruments of control. To paraphrase Lahire (2008), they continue to try to keep the word for a limited number of enlightened people, formerly close to God, now close to Mighty Mortals.

School shapes of social relations between subject-authors require emancipation of the teachers for their development[16], not as a gift, but as the result of a thought process that frees them from the domination of the other. The non-emancipation of teachers determines the non-emancipation of the school. The consciousness in the sense given by Freire the adult has about his role as an educator in a school system which delegates him some of the legal power and his own emancipation

[16] During the conference celebrating eight years of the Learning Laboratory in the municipality of Cascais, Sérgio Niza recalled that *to emancipate* originally means to give or take out of hands. Similarly, the Online Etymology Dictionary (accessed 2013-01-20) clarifies: "emancipatus, pp. from emancipare 'declare (someone) free, surrender one's authority,' [...] from ex- 'out, away' + mancipare 'to deliver, transfer or sell', from mancipum 'property', from manus 'hand' + capere 'take'.

through the knowledge he builds up about his profession, enable him to contribute to the 'de-studenting' of children.

Conscious self-knowledge in combination with the cooperative character of the building of objectified knowledge and science gives the potential to elaborate a school shape in which young people, with their innate ability to learn, meet and are encouraged to become protagonists of their process of intellectual growth.

Be that as it may, the school shape is not monolithic. Shaped by power, the school shape is for the institution one of the three analytic dimensions, the one most influenced by the individual or collective action of the actors in that same institution. In a sense, the school shape is either held hostage by the institutionalized power or defined by the instituting power, depending on each of the actors intervening in the school.

It becomes possible to search for the combination that favours the interpretation of the classroom as an interactive space-time, working from the *continuum* of school forms of social relations, intersecting with the variables in the school organisation and thereby design the *comparative grammar of learning at school*. This interpretation of the school and class group offers possibilities to conceptualise not *a school for the elite*, but *an elite school for all*, as Sérgio Niza says in response to António Nóvoa, when he writes the Movimento da Escola Moderna de Portugal sketches as *"engine of some shaping and change in the education of professional educators and in school education"* Sérgio Niza replies that this sketch helps us

> "in the stubborn search for an alternative professional culture for another school, 'an elite school for all' based on the most advanced values of direct democracy, as a dialogic way of organising the work of learning and teaching" (2012, p.535).

School shapes of social relations between subject-authors, characterised by a socio-historical theoretical framework of the interaction with knowledge, require a relationship of permanent negotiation between adults and children in order to achieve learning for all and personal reflected appropriation of the curriculum by the latter. The involvement of everyone in the negotiation, whose primary goal is to structure the intramural and extramural interactive space-time to enable the production of original cultural works, has a great mobilising effect, as it gives meaning to the work and conflicts diminishes as the case study of the *Ajuda school of Voz do Operário* shows.

School shapes of social relations with subject-objects which characterise the relation to knowledge as the transfer based on didactic theories require a hierarchical relationship and disciplinary authority between adults and children and the existence of homogenised and normalised classes. As the research on the pedagogical

relationship shows, the school shapes of this kind of social relationship generate the violence of the barracks school, violence that can be talked about and that acquires a residual character as soon as a school shape is adopted beyond the normative and restrictive reading of the grammar of schooling (Reuter, 2007; Oury and Pochet, 1972).

As soon as dialogue with other school shapes of social relations and with other social practices becomes impossible, school activity becomes isolated from the world. In order to counteract isolation, pedagogues in the sense given by Houssaye (1994, 2004) develop working lines that allow reflection on the school and its shape, intersecting elements with its organisation, thus creating a comparative grammar of learning at school.

The questions posed to the school shapes that are maintained, whether by enforcing them wether by the reflection of those who practice and develop them, have to do with the learning they promote, with the science and knowledge they build, with reading the world and with experience in relation to the exercise of power.

It is these questions that suggest the discussion regarding ways of acting in schools with different intentions, ranging from the transfer of knowledge objectified by others for the purpose of moulding (shaping the objected subject), over the organisation of knowledge so the individual learns (and construct himself as social human being on its own initiative), or towards the discussion of experienced knowledge eliciting individual and collective learning of scientific knowledge with the collective, ready to provide any adjustment to the school shape.

The research into the versatile school shape opens perspectives to continue the discussion about its future and the future of the space-time in which it develops. Thus, it may be interesting to study cases of other school shapes of social relations that are based on different paradigms, especially with regard to power and how they are experienced. Which school shapes of social relations embrace pedagogical paradigms that make democracy red-handed and how do they do that? What do case studies or comparative research teach us about the relation with knowledge, in school shapes based on the pedagogical learning or communication paradigm? What relations are established between educational cooperation in the classroom, the production of authentic cultural works and the interaction with other forms of social relations? What is the reach of existing and sustainable school shapes in different education systems in different nation states? How do we contribute to *an elite school for everyone* ? What democratic contexts value the development of school shapes of social relations characterised by subject-actors and subject-authors, and what thoughts are there about the elements that compose them, in different organisational devices?

The discussion of school shape of social relationships challenges all adults, education professionals and others, regarding the role of children in their learning and the places where this learning takes place

Assuming that the school is part of the primary socialisation apparatus (Dubar, 1997) and that pupils therein become involved in political socialisation processes right from childhood, the way adults think about the social relationship with children always comes down to a political attitude and, in the case of many occasions, on ideological thinking. Paraphrasing Vidal (*apud* Sedas Nunes, 2005, p.85), the collective cultural product, dispersed in societies as a common form of thought and therefore devoid of authorship, differs from what an author refers to as objectified doctrines.

To elaborate the *comparative grammar of learning at school,* it is necessary to understand the articulation between one of the continuum shapes with its pedagogical paradigm and a certain underlying syntax on the one hand, and the school organisation in all its facets on the other hand. The real pedagogues, who according to Houssaye (2004) are convinced and convincing militants, and therefore resistant, have their field of activity here. The school shape of learning that they brought, and will bring, from their work and the explanations they gave about it contrast with the culturally petty and rudimentary school shape Foucault and Deleuze (1979) cite when they talk about the infantilisation of children stuck in school in the same logical punishment setting as what happens to imprisoned felons.

This must be the work that paves the way to the welcoming school, which does exist, but is overshadowed by the installed predominant school shape. For Rui Canário, the development of the welcoming school, which embraces children and young people with kindness and promotes the wonder that accompanies the appropriation of knowledge, reflection and production, goes hand in hand with the ability to 'unlearn':

> "It is the way we treat students that is key to the problem and this is also our main area of autonomy. To build a school based on hospitality, we don't need more 'reforms', nor more 'education'; we need above all the ability to 'unlearn' to build something new" (2005a, p. 48).

The development of *grammar of learning at school* as a *universal grammar* which is *comparative* and *non-prescriptive* reflecting the benefits to the people and democracy as a mosaic of emancipated and tolerant cultures, welcomes school shapes of social relations, forcing those with legal power in the school to renounce a unified culture. Sooner or later those who dominate the school will have to face the dilemma between a school shape that preserves the past, which prevents the collective development of the future for the many hostages of the few, and a

school shape learning that past to jointly develop the knowledge and science of the future.

Is it possible to say that the welcoming school resides in the interactive cultural space-time, in the conscious explanation of subjects-actors and subject-authors of their learning process and that to develop it fraternal learning groups are established in a relationship of shared power? The welcoming school does not arise by law, but the law itself facilitates or hinders the thinking of professionals in education. In contrast to a school shape of forcibly maintained social relations propelled by laws granting autocratic power based on an impoverishing interpretation of *authority*, a thoughtful school shape of social relations envisions cultural and interactive space-time as a guest place where children and adults think and create together. The welcoming school will then profile itself as a problematising school, in contrast to the reproducing school.

Other elements seem to contribute to its sustainability and deserve to be discussed.

By welcoming people who develop projects together based on hospitality the school moves away from prescribed rituals and presents itself as dynamic, in evolution. Subjects increase knowledge through interaction, production and communication. The appropriation of the curriculum, ie of human cultural heritage, is evaluated through critical thinking around the developed projects.

The welcoming school comes about through the choices each teacher makes about sharing power with the class and about exercising authority among all involved. Experimenting with this kind of relation with power leads to appropriation of the world, not simple to access the world.

A school based on hospitality welcomes children, adults and their questions, which paves the way for a double intervention-relation with the people and organisations around them: by supporting community projects, it is supported by the community.

The projects that are being developed pave the way for learning at school, which goes beyond just education at school. The school space-time that supports them corresponds to the image of a school based on hospitality.

The discussion of the *continuum* of school shapes of social relations and their interaction with the school organisation, through a *comparative grammar of learning at school*, is part of the wider debate that contributes to the reflections of *conscious* and *emancipated* professional educators willing to learn 'unlearning' in the school they attend. The emancipation of *everyone* , adults and children, is necessary for the development of this process of 'unlearning' that leads to the reinvention of the school, seen as a meeting place based on hospitality, a space-time of cultural construction of education.

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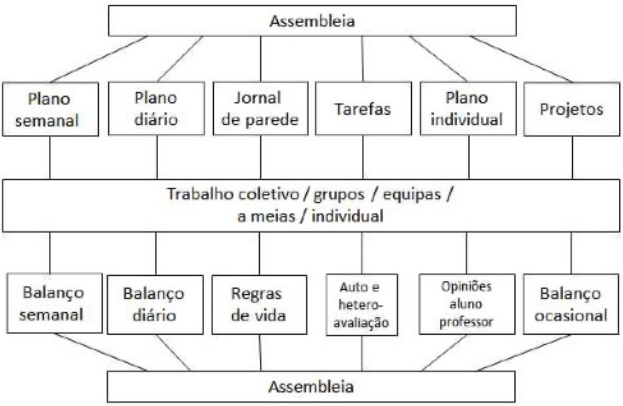
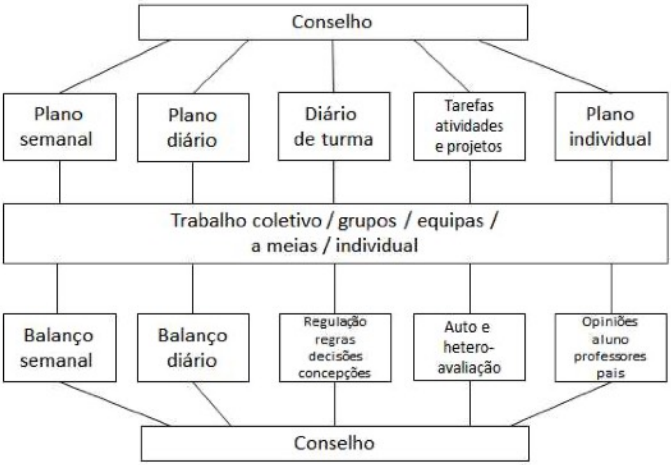
Appendix: Evolution from assembly to council in MEM



Schedule 1: Xarepe, Odete (1991:10). Edit.



Scheme 2: Serralha, Pinto, Pereira, Felício e Niza (1992: 79). Class Council Functions .

Pascal Paulus (1957) studied for primary school teacher in Belgium and holds a PhD in educational sociology from the Institute of Education of the University of Lisbon, under the supervision of Rui Canário.

He was co-founder of the school *De Appeltuin*, led by the institutional pedagogy of Fernand Oury.

He has lived and worked in Portugal since 1986, where he developed work projects as an active member of the Movimento da Escola Moderna.

Vincent, Lahire, and Thin's (1994) theory of the school shape of learning, Lahire suggests to be a relatively immutable school shape of social relations, integrated into social practices with scriptural school shapes following the practices of oral social forms is the starting point for this reflection on the evolution towards a Welcoming School

The hypothesis to organise that school shape as a number of *coexisting school shapes of social relations* that vary in relation to power (Foucault) and to *knowledge* (Charlot), in a *continuum* makes it possible to better understand this particular shape among other shapes of social relations existing outside the school.

In general, the continuum conceived as three families of shapes shows a multifaceted view of social relationships in school, suggesting a comparative grammar of learning at school, extending the grammar of schooling by Tyack and Tobin (1994). Thus, the continuum may allow us to discuss a kind of future, welcoming school that facilitates learning to intelligibly read the world.